PAST AND PRESENT PUBLICATIONS

STUDIES ON BYZANTINE LITERATURE OF THE ELEVENTH & TWELFTH CENTURIES

Alexander Kazhdan
in collaboration with Simon Franklin

Cambridge University Press
Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme

Past and Present Publications

Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

This book is published as part of the joint publishing agreement established in 1977 between the Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Titles published under this arrangement may appear in any European language or, in the case of volumes of collected essays, in several languages.
New books will appear either as individual titles or in one of the series which the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press have jointly agreed to publish. All books published jointly by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press will be distributed by the Press throughout the world.

Cet ouvrage est publié dans le cadre de l'accord de co-édition passé en 1977 entre la Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et le Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Toutes les langues européennes sont admises pour les titres couverts par cet accord, et les ouvrages collectifs peuvent paraître en plusieurs langues.
Les ouvrages paraissent soit isolément, soit dans l'une des séries que la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et Cambridge University Press ont convenu de publier ensemble. La distribution dans le monde entier des titres ainsi publiés conjointement par les deux établissements est assurée par Cambridge University Press.

This book is also published in association with and as part of Past and Present Publications, which comprise books similar in character to the articles in the journal *Past and Present*. Whether the volumes in the series are collections of essays – some previously published, others new studies – or monographs, they encompass a wide variety of scholarly and original works primarily concerned with social, economic and cultural changes and their causes and consequences. They will appeal to both specialists and non-specialists and will endeavour to communicate the results of historical and allied research in readable and lively form. This new series continues and expands in its aims the volumes previously published elsewhere.

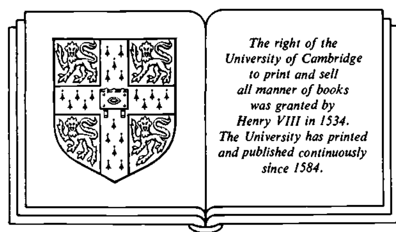
For a list of titles in Past and Present Publications, see end of book.

Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN
Senior Research Associate, Dumbarton Oaks

in collaboration with

SIMON FRANKLIN
Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge
London New York New Rochelle Melbourne Sydney

EDITIONS DE LA MAISON DES SCIENCES DE L'HOMME
Paris

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

With Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme
54 Boulevard Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 06, France

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521105224

© Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press 1984

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1984
This digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 83–7442

ISBN 978-0-521-24656-9 hardback
ISBN 978-0-521-10522-4 paperback

Contents

Prooemium vii

List of abbreviations xi

I Approaches to the history of Byzantine civilization: from Krause to Beck and Mango 1

II The social views of Michael Attaleiates 23

III Theodore Prodromus: a reappraisal 87

IV Eustathius of Thessalonica: the life and opinions of a twelfth-century Byzantine rhetor 115

V Gregory Antiochus: writer and bureaucrat 196

VI Nicephorus Chrysoberges and Nicholas Mesarites: a comparative study 224

VII Nicetas Choniates and others: aspects of the art of literature 256

Index 287

Prooemium

The essays in this book are based on articles written in Russian before my departure from the Soviet Union in 1978. I am fortunate in having this opportunity to present them to a wider audience of my western colleagues.

In my approach to Byzantine literature I have been chiefly concerned with three questions. The first is traditional and, so to speak, documentary: the examination, or re-examination, of dates and facts. When was Eustathius promoted to the see of Thessalonica? Was the uncle of Theodore Prodromus really John II, metropolitan of Kiev? The importance of this kind of investigation is self-evident, even though individual factual arguments do not substantially alter our general impression of Byzantine literature and literati.

The second question is more controversial. I perceive Byzantine literati, or at any rate the greatest among them, as being involved in the real life of their time. Nor was this involvement only political (although many of them were in fact politicians, or wrote about political events): they belonged to various groups in Byzantine society, and their writings thus reflect various social concepts and moral tenets. One of my major goals has been the 'social localization' of Byzantine writers. Some of my specific conclusions may, I admit, be somewhat fragile, but the problem remains intriguing and worthy of study.

The third question is purely literary. Is Byzantine literature merely a collage of traditional stereotypes and borrowed situations, or did Byzantine authors use their imagery to serve their own particular purposes? Without hesitation I accept that the latter was the case. In some of these essays I have tried to analyse how this imagery worked: how, for example, Nicetas Choniates used the

imagery of colour to express his own attitude towards people and events. The literary analysis of Byzantine texts is still at an embryonic stage. My own contribution is far from adequate to the scale of the problem, but no progress is possible without initial, perhaps over-tentative, steps.

The tasks of social localization and literary analysis are not simple. Byzantine literature is far removed from our own model of literary activity. Its hints and allusions frequently escape us. It can seem so monolithic, so homogeneous, so static and unvarying. How can one best penetrate this façade? How can one 'crack the code', so as to discover the individuality behind the formulae? The method I have generally applied is one of comparison: not the traditional comparison of Byzantine copies with their ancient originals, which seeks to demonstrate the degree of Byzantine mimesis or plagiarism; but a comparison between authors of one and the same period; a comparison of their attitudes, their ethical values, and their artistic methods. Chrysoberges and Mesarites both describe the same rebellion, but how very different are the tales they tell: different not in their political stance, but in their style. By 'style' I do not mean merely grammar, or the distinction between the vernacular and the learned, but a system of imagery, a mode of presentation, which reflects the author's perception of life. I have tried to treat writers in pairs, or in even larger groups, since it is more instructive and productive to discover contemporary contrasts than to show lexical and formulaic continuity over time.

I give pride of place not to the genre, but to the writer. In order to construct a portrait of Eustathius, I combine the evidence of his historical works, his speeches and letters, his sermons and pamphlets, his commentaries on Homer and on John of Damascus. I attempt to demonstrate that Zonaras the canonist developed the same ideas as Zonaras the historian. An author – even a Byzantine author – deserves to be regarded as an entity, not to be torn to pieces in the interests of proving the eternal stability of genres. Since I have concentrated on authors rather than on genres, and since I have tried to present Byzantine literati in relation to each other, I have felt it necessary to stay within fairly strict chronological limits. This book deals mainly with the twelfth century, although there are occasional excursions into the late eleventh century. My aim has been to show the pattern of Byzantine literature over a limited span of time. The

pattern as presented here is far from complete: many individuals and many subjects are not discussed. The gaps in this collection are not difficult to spot. But this book is not intended to be a work of reference. We already have several good reference books on Byzantine literature. But there exists no proper *history* of Byzantine literature. I hope these essays may be seen as a contribution to that as yet unwritten history.

The idea of the book was born in the hospitable confines of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, in Paris, and was supported by the Cambridge University Press. The National Endowment for the Humanities breathed life into the project by supplying funds for the translation. To all these institutions, and to their representatives who have dealt with the project, I am happy to acknowledge my sincere gratitude. I am grateful, too, to my 'American home', Dumbarton Oaks, where I found not only an abode, but also the warmth so desirable for one whose life was so radically changed on the eve of his sixtieth year.

All the articles have been thoroughly rewritten. I believe that the reader will be interested in the subject, not in Kazhdan's scholarly biography, so the essays have been revised and brought up to date. Some texts which I originally used in manuscripts have now been published, and some new editions have appeared to replace those on which I first based my arguments. The appropriate adjustments have been made. Recent scholarship is also taken into account, as are a number of books and articles which were not available in Moscow libraries. In some cases I have introduced additional evidence, corrected errors, or excluded what I now consider to be superfluous. I have also tried to eliminate the repetitions which are to some extent inevitable in a collection of this kind.

Dr Simon Franklin not only translated the original articles, but also worked closely with me on their revision. He checked my Greek references and quotations; in certain places he has restructured my text; he criticized my arguments, and provided alterations and improvements. In short, this book has been produced jointly; it has evolved and emerged through fruitful collaboration.

Dumbarton Oaks, Spring 1982 ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

Acknowledgement

The preparation of this book was made possible by a grant from the Program for Translations of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C.

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*
'Address'	R. Browning, 'An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202', *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines*, v (1978), pp. 48–63
ADSV	*Antichnaya drevnost' i sredniye veka*
Attal.	Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853)
Beck, *Kirche*	H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959)
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Browning, 'Patriarchal School'	R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', *Byz.*, XXXII (1962), pp. 167–202; XXXIII (1963), pp. 11–40; repr. in Browning, *Studies*, pt. x
Browning, *Studies*	R. Browning, *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (London, 1977)
Bryen.	Nicephorus Bryennius, *Historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975)
BS	*Byzantinoslavica*
Byz.	*Byzantion*
Byz. Forsch.	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Cec.	Cecaumenus, *Sovety i rasskazy*, ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972)

Comm. ad Hom.	Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem; Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (Leipzig, 1825–30; page-refs. to the *editio princeps*, Rome, 1542–50)
Conquête	Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople* (Paris, 1924)
De Mang.	Theodore Prodromus, *De Manganis carmina*, ed. S. Bernardinello (Padua, 1972)
Dölger, *Regesten*	F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunde des oströmischen Reiches*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1924–65)
Downey	Nicholas Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles*, ed. and trans. G. Downey, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XLVII (1957)
EEBS	*Epetēris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn*
EEPTh	*Epistēmonikē Epetēris tēs theologikēs scholēs tou Panepistēmiou Thessalonikēs*
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
Esp.	Eustathius of Thessalonica, *La Espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. S. Kyriakides (Palermo, 1961)
Fontes	W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1892–1917)
Grumel, *Regestes*	V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, i-iv (1932–71)
Hist. Ged.	Theodore Prodromus, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner (Vienna, 1974)
Hunger, *Literatur*	H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1978)
IRAIK	*Izvestiya russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

	(before 1969: *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)
Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy*	A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav gospodstvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974)
Krumbacher	K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (2nd ed., Munich, 1897)
Laurent, *Corpus*	V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, v, 1–3 (Paris, 1963–72)
Leo Diac.	Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828)
Lyubarsky, *Psell*	Ya. N. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell. Lichnost' i tvorchestvo* (Moscow, 1978)
Malaces	*Euthymiou tou Malakē mētropolitou Neōn Patrōn ta sōzomena*, ed. K. G. Bonis (Athens, 1937)
Mich. Ak.	*Michaēl Akominatou tou Chōniatou ta sōzomena*, 2 vols., ed. S. Lampros (Athens, 1879–80)
Miklosich-Müller	F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I	Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I: *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958)
Neue Quellen	A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und Kirchenunion*, I-III, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1922, no. 5; 1923, nos. 2, 3; repr. in A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973)
Nic. Chon.	Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin, New York, 1975)
Nic. Chon., *Orat. et ep.*	Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin, New York, 1972)

Nic. Greg.	Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, 3 vols., ed. L. Schopen, I. Bekker (Bonn, 1829–55)
Opusc.	Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Opuscula*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832)
Orat.	Nicephorus Chrysoberges, *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1892)
Palastrevolution	Nicholas Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Würzburg, 1907)
PG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*
Psellus, *Chron.*	Michael Psellus, *Chonographia*, ed. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926–8)
REB	*Revue des Etudes Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Etudes Grecques*
RESEE	*Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*
Sathas, *MB*	C. Sathas, *Mesaiōnikē bibliothēkē*, 6 vols. (Venice, Paris, 1872–94)
Scyl.	John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, New York, 1973)
Scyl. Cont.	Scylitzes Continuatus, *Hē synecheia tēs Chronographias tou Iōannou Skylitsē*, ed. E. Th. Tsolakes (Thessalonica, 1968)
Theoph. Cont.	Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838)
Valk	Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, I– , ed. M. van der Valk (Leiden, 1971–)
VV	*Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*
ZhMNP	*Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*
Zon.	John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. M. Pinder, M. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1841–97)
ZVRI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

I

Approaches to the history of Byzantine civilization: from Krause to Beck and Mango

Earlier generations of scholars have sought to understand the Byzantine empire primarily by turning to its political history. But the modern world has grown lukewarm to the history of events. It is surprising to note that the standard work on Byzantine political history, George Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* ('the best handbook on Byzantine history', as Cyril Mango rightly calls it) was first issued in 1940, albeit with adjustments in 1952 and 1963. Ostrogorsky's book has survived for over forty years not because it is flawless: many aspects of his concept of Byzantium have since been challenged. The book's longevity is due, first and foremost, to the fact that our generation does not relish the history of wars, upheavals and religious disputes. We no longer believe that the core of the past can be reached through even the finest analysis of political events. Instead, the fashion is for the history of civilization, the history of man in a broader perspective. It is no accident that the first part of Alain Ducellier's *Le drame de Byzance* (Paris, 1976) is entitled 'A la recherche de l'homme quotidien'.

The first book specifically devoted to Byzantine culture was produced more than a century ago, by J. H. Krause.[1] As one would expect, Krause's sources are pitifully meagre by comparison with what is available today. For example, he writes about Byzantine trades without any knowledge of the *Book of the Eparch*; he discusses taxation unaided by the publications of Ashburner and Karayannopulos; in 1869 very few items of Byzantine art were known or studied; and Krause's description of the administrative system piles

[1] J. H. Krause, *Die Byzantiner des Mittelalters in ihren Staats-, Hof- und Privatleben inbesondere vom Ende des zehnten bis gegen Endes des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den byzantinischen Quellen* (Halle, 1869, repr. Leipzig, 1974).

error upon error.[2] But such deficiencies should not lead us to become smug or patronizing about Krause's endeavour, nor should they blind us to the magnitude of his achievement. It is quite remarkable that a scholar in 1869 was able to produce such a comprehensive account of Byzantine life, while relying only on narrative sources and, wherever they left gaps, on his own common sense and intuition.[3]

Krause was visionary not only in his use of the available (or unavailable) facts, but also in his whole attitude towards Byzantium and its culture. He tried to 'rehabilitate' Byzantium, to rescue it from the contempt with which it was treated by his contemporaries and predecessors. The notion of 'decline and fall' still dominated opinion: Byzantium as the tediously drawn-out afterlife of antiquity, as the mummified corpse of classical culture. Krause turned this assessment on its head, and set out to show that Byzantium was in many respects greatly preferable to the corrupt present. Some of his observations are distinctly idiosyncratic: the Byzantine proletariat knew its place, and in Byzantium Lassallian 'workers' associations' would have been considered absurd (p. VIII); the Byzantines and the Romans were not tainted by the lazy modern habit of hanging around in restaurants (pp. 84–5). In at least one respect, however, Krause anticipated the opinions of a significant proportion of Byzantinists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He, and many of his successors, idealized the Byzantine centralized state: the empire was a hive of economic activity; the capital was guaranteed an abundant supply of food; the emperor's powers were sensibly circumscribed; rulers made provision for the poor and the elderly; the armed forces were superb, and education was at a high level (pp. 73, 87, 93, 110, 134, 278, 284, 293, 305–6). At the same time, Krause was aware of Byzantine defects: successful careerism by mediocre bureaucrats, confiscation of private property, parasitic monasticism (pp. 75,

[2] e.g. his statements that the title *despotes* ranked next to the title of 'caesar', and was in use before the reign of Alexius I; that the title *proedros* was equivalent to 'senator'; that the grand logothete was a military commander; that the *megas domestikos* was ranked close to the 'caesar'; that comment on a passage of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Cerimoniis* would be both arduous and otiose (pp. 210, 215, 228, 239, 254).

[3] e.g. Krause asserts that public buildings, and imperial and private palaces, were richly decorated with works of art, especially with bronzes, terracottas, marble statuettes and reliefs, 'about which no information survives' (p. 44). This kind of argument would nowadays be unacceptable.

207–8, 281). But these, for Krause, are minor flaws which do not seriously mar the general impression of prosperity and stability.

However one might argue with Krause's judgement and conclusions, his presentation is sober, ordered and coherent. His chief concern is with material life. After a description of Constantinople, its palaces and churches (pp. 15–47) comes a section on various crafts and arts: mosaics and their preparation, pots, cult objects, ivories, machines, clocks, musical instruments, military technology, fabrics, painting and coinage (48–72). Krause does not look at rural or agricultural implements. He moves on, logically, to the lives and habits of the urban (mainly Constantinopolitan) population: its social composition and mobility, its clothes, its entertainments, and the position of women (72–93). Only then does Krause embark on his long discussion of the emperors and court life (93–206). Then comes administration, the army, diplomacy and finance (206–86). And finally Krause turns to education (286–308), the church and the monasteries (308–79), and astrology and magic (380–405). Such a structure lends the book a certain unity, as the author leads us from the forms of material existence, through administration and government, to the forms of spiritual pursuit. One must stress that in Krause's book these spiritual pursuits are only 'forms', for Krause does not attempt to penetrate the medieval consciousness. He does not hint at any specifically medieval way of thought. His Byzantines think and act according to the same logic as Romans, or indeed as Krause's own contemporaries.

Since the publication of Krause's *Die Byzantiner*, our knowledge of Byzantine life has been enriched with huge quantities of new and varied material. The fact-gathering perhaps reached its peak with Ph. Koukoules' monumental 'ethnographic' collation of written sources.[4] However, the accumulation of data led initially to some loss of coherence. The raw material was not integrated either conceptually or in the structure and manner of its presentation.

The standard textbook became Steven Runciman's *Byzantine Civilization*, first published in 1933, and since reproduced in various forms and languages. Runciman starts with an historical outline,

[4] Ph. Koukoules, *Byzantinōn bios kai politismos*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–57); then came briefer treatments of the subject by G. Walter, *La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes (1081–1180)* (Paris, 1966); T. Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (London, 1967).

and then he describes, in separate chapters, imperial power, administration, religion and the church, the army, commerce, town and country life, education, literature and art, and, in the final chapter, the relationship of the empire to the world around it. Approximately the same structure is to be found in *Byzantium*, ed. N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss (Oxford, 1948), and in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 2 (1967). Government and law, social life, church and monasticism, literature, science and art, and Byzantium's place in the medieval world – these were the independent sections of a multi-storey construction, where no staircase led from one floor to another.

Louis Bréhier's *Le monde byzantin* (3 vols., Paris, 1947–50) is differently labelled, but almost identically structured. Volume I (*Vie et mort de Byzance*) is a history of political events; volume II is on institutions, with chapters on imperial power, administration and the church; and the final volume is devoted to urban life, the countryside, trade, religion and superstition, literature, science and art. Only once does Bréhier stray from the traditional scheme, in his section entitled 'la vie privée', which includes the family and daily life. His book is traditional not only in its structure, but also in its approach: here too, as in Runciman, Baynes and Moss, and the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Byzantium is presented as a sum or list of separate items, rather than as a coherent, functioning model.

The first modern attempt to integrate, rather than merely to juxtapose, the various aspects of Byzantine culture, is Herbert Hunger's *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne, 1965). But by contrast with Krause's *Die Byzantiner,* Hunger pays no attention to the material conditions of Byzantine life. His theme is the Christianization of Byzantine society, politics and thought.

Then came André Guillou's *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris, 1974). Guillou adopted a new approach to the writing of Byzantine cultural history. Between Runciman and Guillou several scholars had produced works expressly concerned with Byzantine culture.[5] All of them, like Runciman, accompany their discussion of culture with a fair amount of political and ecclesiastical narrative history.

[5] e.g. H. W. Haussig, *Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz* (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1966; Engl. transl.: *A History of Byzantine Civilization,* London, 1971); K. Wessel, *Die Kultur von Byzanz* (Frankfurt am Main, 1970); P. D. Arnott, *The Byzantines and their World* (London, 1973).

One can take as an example the book by K. Wessel, which appeared in the influential series *Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte*. Wessel devotes seventy-five pages to the period from the mid ninth century to 1204, including twelve pages on church history and thirteen pages of political history – together precisely one-third of the total. And in the preceding section narrative history is yet more prominent, filling twenty-five pages out of a total of sixty-seven. Apart from politics and church history, Wessel discusses law (or rather, he lists judicial texts), military organization, crafts, trade, and daily life. Literature and learning are given fairly cursory treatment, and the visual arts are hardly dealt with at all.

Guillou's book differs from its predecessors fundamentally. It contains no narrative political history whatsoever. Instead it opens with a survey of Byzantine historical geography (chapters 1–2), a subject which had normally been ignored in previous studies of Byzantine history or culture.[6] Admittedly, Guillou's account rather resembles a verbal map, a list of regions and towns, instead of an analysis of the geographical conditions, the nature and the climate. Yet the point of his innovation is surely valid: Byzantine civilization cannot fully be understood without an understanding of the Byzantines' natural environment. The drama of Byzantine history unfolded in a real and specific setting, not on a bare stage. Krause, too, had sensed this, but for him the setting was restricted to Constantinople, its topography and its cultural atmosphere (i.e. the sum of its noteworthy buildings). Guillou mainly discusses the provinces: from Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia) to Syria, Egypt and the Levant.

The geographical introduction is followed by four large chapters: on the state, society, the economy, and culture (spiritual and intellectual, rather than material). A glance at the chapter-headings of the *Cambridge Medieval History* is enough to show that Guillou's work is structured according to utterly different principles. Guillou's chapters are not self-contained entities, like articles in an encyclopedia. They deal with interdependent and interrelated aspects of a single phenomenon. Some might prefer Guillou to have arranged his chapters on the state, society and the economy in the

[6] Exceptions are: A. P. Kazhdan, G. G. Litavrin, *Ocherki po istorii Vizantii i yuzhnykh slavyan* (Moscow, 1958); and, in a particular sphere, D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971).

reverse sequence,[7] but the essential links between his 'four elements' are incomparably plainer and more coherent than the links between the adjacent chapters on, say, music, monasticism, literature and science in the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

Within each chapter also, Guillou's presentation is logical and harmonious. The chapter on the state starts with the position of the emperor, and with the imperial cult (pp. 103–8). Then comes a survey of the administration, its general characteristics, its role in the capital and in the provinces (108–33). From organization Guillou passes to function, and the five major administrative departments: financial, judicial, diplomatic, military, and ecclesiastical (133–93). By treating the church as a department of state, Guillou again departs from convention: the church is plucked from its mystical haze and dumped into the thick of administrative life.

The next two chapters, on society and the economy, are arranged with equal clarity. Guillou examines social classes and professions, and social ties (203–22); landed property, agriculture, and the position of peasants (243–63); urban life in Constantinople and in the provinces (263–304); crafts and trades (304–16). One might have minor reservations about individual points: for example, state ownership of land (243–4) and the position of the *paroikoi* (261–2) might perhaps have been discussed under the heading of 'society' rather than 'economy'. But overall these chapters convey a complex but fully coherent picture of the Byzantine social and economic structure, including aspects of it which were not treated at all by Krause and most of his successors.

Guillou not only integrates the separate strands of his subject. He also tries to present them in a conceptual framework appropriate to their time and place. He neither modernizes the Byzantines, as if they thought in twentieth-century terms; nor does he project them back into classical antiquity. Contrast his approach with that of Krause. Krause begins his chapter on imperial power with the statement that 'although one cannot speak of a constitution in the modern sense, nevertheless the power of the absolute autocrat was far more restricted and perilous than that of any monarch in our time' (p. 93). In the *Cambridge Medieval History* W. Ensslin commences his chapter on the administration with what seems like

[7] cf. A. P. Kazhdan, *Vizantiyskaya kul'tura* (Moscow, 1968; Germ. ed.: *Byzanz und seine Kultur* (Berlin, 1973)), ch. 1 on the economy, ch. 2 on society, ch. 3 on the state.

an assertion of the opposite, and with a different point of comparison: 'In the Byzantine Empire the conception of the supremacy of monarchical power was more deeply rooted and less contested than anywhere else in medieval Europe' (p. 1). However, both Krause and Ensslin base their discussion on contemporary notions of the state. Guillou starts his chapter on the state not with a reference to monarchical supremacy, or to constitutions, but with a quotation from John of Damascus (p. 103). When he wants to examine social contrasts, he begins with Byzantine jurists' own definitions of the relationship of slavery to freedom (197). He opens his chapter on the economy by describing the Byzantines' own attitudes to land: the land, like the sun and the air, is the creation and the property of God, who entrusts it to His representative, the emperor (243). Unlike Krause, and unlike the compilers of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Guillou aims to present Byzantium in Byzantine terms; to view Byzantine economic life, social conflict, moral and aesthetic problems, through Byzantine eyes.

Not that Guillou shuns all modern concepts. He uses the term 'ruling class' (203); he analyses ties of dependence (*liens de dépendance*), and concludes that social cohesion in Byzantium was based on the principle of individualism (212). These terms have no Byzantine equivalents, but Guillou injects them with Byzantine meaning. He explores the Byzantine idea of marriage and the family (213), and the particular Byzantine conditions which were responsible for the 'weakness of monastic communities' (220).

Since Guillou rejects anachronistic description of Byzantium, he also avoids anachronistic evaluation. His aim is neither to condemn the empire, nor to praise it, but to understand what it was, in its own time, on its own terms.

And since Guillou constructs his picture of Byzantium with Byzantine images, his presentation is vivid and tangible. Instead of general argument in the manner of Krause, he provides facts and illustration.

Guillou uses the full range of sources available to the modern historian. Besides the narrative sources (on which Krause had relied completely) he uses documents, letters, speeches and theology: all that is written is part of the culture, and must therefore be incorporated into the study of the culture. Guillou also cites the observations of foreigners who came into contact with Byzantium.

Then there are the objects: the archeological finds, the coins, the art, through which life and work in the empire are visibly and tangibly communicated to us. All these varied kinds of sources are extensively used by Guillou. Nor does he present them only in 'predigested' form, already assimilated into his argument: the book is filled with quotations, archeological plans, manuscript illustrations. Thus Guillou's presentation complements his interpretation: Byzantium must be seen and understood from within.

There is, however, one important issue on which Guillou advances no further than Krause. The subtitle of Krause's book states that it deals 'mainly' with the period from the end of the tenth century to the end of the fourteenth. 'Mainly' is a convenient imprecision, for whenever Krause's sources from his 'main' period are inadequate for his purposes, he is quite happy to produce the necessary evidence from earlier centuries. In his introduction Krause divides Byzantine history into periods (pp. XIX–XXI), but in his narrative he ignores them. To some extent Krause's practice is consistent and logical, for in his view historical changes in Byzantium were changes only of circumstance, not of substance: political life was fickle; success could become failure, and *vice versa*, but the Byzantines themselves remained essentially the same throughout, like the Romans, and like Krause's own contemporaries. Krause is thus free to use, for example, a sixth-century source to make a point about the eleventh century, not primarily because of the lack of adequate material available at the time when he wrote, but because he conceived Byzantium to be socially and culturally static.

The same conception remains dominant today. Wessel, for example, divides Byzantine history into several periods, but only in order to emphasize how little actually changed (pp. 314, 338, 366). Nowhere does he show how or whether his chronological periods have any coherence, any distinctive qualities in themselves. Arnold Toynbee has remarked that 'if one were to ask any educated modern westerner what was the first idea that associated itself in his mind with the word "Byzantine", his answer would probably be "conservatism"'.[8] Toynbee criticizes the traditional notion of Byzantine 'conservatism', but even he then discusses mainly the

[8] A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London, 1973), p. 524.

difference between Byzantium and classical antiquity, not internal change in Byzantium.[9]

Guillou does allow for certain changes in the character of Byzantine society, such as the gradual evolution of the bureaucracy, or the restructuring of the élite between the tenth and twelfth centuries (pp. 116, 204). But his 'periodization', like that of Krause, is based entirely on political geography: Byzantium as ruler of the Mediterranean, Byzantium confined to the northern Mediterranean, the empire in the Aegean, the empire of the Straits, and so on. Social and cultural change is assumed to be irrelevant, or non-existent.

One of the central questions of Byzantine history is that of whether or not the empire suffered serious economic decline in the seventh century. Over the last two or three decades support has grown for the hypothesis, based initially on archeological and numismatic evidence, that from the late seventh to the mid ninth centuries cities in the Byzantine empire were economically depressed, and that urban prosperity revived during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[10] If one is to understand the development of Byzantine culture, and in particular the great flowering of literature and art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, then surely one must take into account the vicissitudes of economic history, and not just the changing boundaries of empire. Yet Guillou, in his survey of towns, hardly mentions the problem, despite his auspicious opening statement to the effect that there was a 'close parallelism between the evolution of large land-holdings and the expansion of the urban economy' (p. 263). Guillou gives the impression that, with the exception of Gerasa, which disappeared in the mid eighth century (pp. 297–8), all Late Roman towns made the transition to the Middle Ages unscathed and unchanged; that the Byzantine urban environment remained classical. Guillou treats cities synchronically: he describes their forms, but he does not follow their development over time.

And he does the same with literature and art: no sense of change, merely a description of genres. He does not look at the

[9] Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 525–74.

[10] A. P. Kazhdan, 'Vizantiyskiye goroda v VII-XI vekakh', *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, XXI (1954), pp. 164–83; M. F. Hendy, 'Byzantium, 1081–1204. An Economic Reappraisal', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XX (1970), pp. 31–53; Ch. Bouras, 'City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture', *JÖB*, XXXI, 2 (1981), pp. 611–53.

development of artistic methods and devices, nor at changing attitudes towards the qualities and depiction of people (people both as the creators and as the main subjects of literature and art). His section on 'literary production' (the derogatory quotation marks are Guillou's) contains a list of forms, with no chronological connection: exegesis, ascetic instruction, novels, historiography, rhetoric, poetry, and so on (pp. 334–60). A catalogue of this sort does not help us to understand the Byzantines' perception of themselves and the world.

Guillou's lapse is all the more surprising because it seems to contradict his own general approach. Krause had ignored material and cultural change in accordance with his overall view of man in history. But Guillou's book is notable precisely because its author does, for the most part, insist that Byzantine life and culture must be understood in terms proper for their time. In other words, most of Guillou's argument is built on the assumption that cultures, values and concepts change with time and circumstances. Why, then, should he retain an entirely static view of Byzantium itself? Byzantium is indeed a particular cultural phenomenon, a particular civilization, which can as a whole be distinguished from other civilizations. But it was not in itself unchanging and homogeneous. It went through several stages, each of which has its own distinct characteristics. The empire of the Straits was not simply smaller than the empire of the Mediterranean: it faced different cultural problems, and it produced its own solutions to them.

Guillou's *La civilisation byzantine* was followed two years later by Ducellier's *Le drame de Byzance*. Ducellier's book has a rather more complex structure. Its first section deals with man in everyday life, and discusses attitudes towards the oecumene, society, morality, and aesthetic values. The second section is concerned with Byzantine self-consciousness: the imperial ideal as propounded by citizens and rulers of the empire; and Byzantine attitudes towards barbarians. The final section looks at the supernatural world: God, the devil, and the bounds of human reason.

Thus over the last couple of decades scholars have begun to present Byzantium in a fundamentally new way. In the first place, Byzantine life and culture is increasingly perceived as a coherent entity, rather than as an agglomeration of heterogeneous elements. Secondly, *homo byzantinus* is now discussed as an historical figure in

his own right, with a character and style of his own, rather than as a vessel containing a peculiar concoction of classical and oriental traditions. Yet Ducellier, like Guillou, does not take the next step. Like Guillou, Ducellier looks at the individuality of Byzantine civilization as a whole, but not at development within it. Krause lacked both the information and the inclination to write of socio-cultural change in Byzantium. But now vast amounts of material are available, and the twin questions of individuality *and* development can and should be raised with regard to all aspects of Byzantine life. With Guillou and Ducellier the monolithic façade remains firmly in place.

Next came Hans Georg Beck's *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978), and Cyril Mango's *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980). Both Mango and Beck are thoroughly modern in their approach, yet it would be hard to imagine two more contrasting books. Beck writes a kind of philosophy of Byzantine civilization. He enjoys sophisticated formulations, paradoxical statements, and he is more critical than constructive. He does not attempt to provide a complete picture: he confesses as much in his preface (p. 7), and this is not just a piece of conventional modesty. Beck simply does not wish to offer more than *Bemerkungen* to such a momentous phenomenon as Byzantine society: 'as regards Byzantine society, we are still a long way from anything which might properly be called a history' (p. 232). The same could be said of Byzantine literature, but Beck nevertheless devotes a comprehensive chapter to the subject, rather than mere *Bemerkungen*. No history of Byzantine society would yet satisfy the requirements of contemporary sociology, but within the limits imposed by the sources we can, and must, tackle the nature of Byzantine society, for otherwise we shall impoverish our image of Byzantine theology, literature, monasticism, imperial power, all of which existed not in a vacuum, but within society. This is no criticism of Beck. Within the limits which he sets himself, and of which he is fully conscious, his approach is wholly consistent. There are numerous reference books which attempt to be comprehensive, but so few attempts to think comprehensively of Byzantium.

Beck's book has no chapter on art. Mango, as one might expect, includes a section on art, and he comments on Byzantine art and

architecture in several of his other chapters too. For Mango's whole approach is graphic and visual. He seeks to present not a philosophy, but a vista, a series of images in logical order. His path is from image to conclusion. When he reads the tenth-century *Vita* of Basil the Younger, he *sees* that all the action takes place indoors (p. 82), while the sixth-century *Vita* of Symeon the Fool contains many scenes of life in the streets (64–5). Mango's conclusion is important: fundamental changes have taken place in patterns of urban life; by the tenth century the public activity of earlier times has been replaced by a closed-in privacy.

In style, Beck's particular skill lies in his precise and fine definitions, while Mango's is in his creation of palpable images. These predilections determine both Beck's special interest in rhetoric (pp. 152–62), and Mango's continual use of the most 'visual' of Byzantine literary genres, hagiography. But the distinction between the two books is more than purely stylistic. Beck emphasizes the unity of Byzantium, while Mango brings out social and cultural changes within the general framework of Byzantine history. In his introduction, Mango announces that 'one can hardly overestimate the catastrophic break that occurred in the seventh century' (p. 4), and he goes on to speak of the 'collapse of the Early Byzantine State' and of 'profound social readjustment' (p. 45). He also posits 'fundamental shifts in mental attitudes' (p. 255). The concepts of 'catastrophe' and 'collapse' are totally alien to Beck's work. Instead, he likes such words as *Symbiose, Permanenz, Kontinuität, Continuum* (pp. 14, 27, 212, 298, 310). He speaks of phenomena present in Byzantium 'from beginning to end' (p. 242). Though he does not regard Byzantium as a 'monolith' (p. 290), Beck aggressively, and with more than a hint of polemical irony, refuses to speak of a 'rise and fall' (p. 311). According to Beck, changes, if they occurred, must not be allowed to obscure the essential unity of Byzantine culture. Thus Mango's book presents a history of Byzantine development, while Beck's is devoted first and foremost to the functioning of his 'Byzantine model'.

Mango's concept of Byzantine development is, at its core, a negation of the idea which still dominates Byzantine studies, and which was expounded with brilliant consistency in Ostrogorsky's *History*. According to Ostrogorsky, the major causes of change in Byzantium must be sought in the countryside. The creation of a

large class of free and free-moving peasants, as well as the organization of the theme system (that is, settlement of soldiers granted inalienable holdings of land), provided the foundations for the revival of the empire in the seventh century, while from the eleventh century onwards the process of feudalization inevitably led to decline and fall. For Ostrogorsky, as for his distinguished Russian predecessors, the life of the peasantry and of the village community was the corner-stone of historical development. In an article on the city in the Byzantine empire[11] Ostrogorsky argued strongly against any attempt to discover substantial changes in urban life during the seventh century. Significant development would have to have been generated in the fields and vineyards.

Mango rejects this 'agrarian approach'. For him the city is not simply a fact, but a factor in historical development. Without naming Ostrogorsky, Mango writes of 'historians' who 'have been looking in the wrong direction': they assumed (as, we might add, did Guillou) 'a continuity of urban life in the Dark Ages', and 'sought to discover an agrarian revolution', whereas 'in fact it was urban life that collapsed' and that was practically extinguished in the calamities of the seventh and eighth centuries (pp. 48, 69–73). Rural society underwent no structural change. Moreover, both 'the establishment of quasi-feudal relations' and the revival of city life (p. 54) were typical features of Byzantine life and development after the eleventh century. Mango announces an 'economic and social upsurge of the eleventh century' (p. 58), which was accompanied by 'the growth of a petty bourgeoisie' (p. 82). He suggests that the collapse of the educational system after Justinian was 'undoubtedly due to the disappearance of the cities' (p. 136) and also that the revival of intellectual creativity in the age of Psellus may be explained (albeit with a cautious 'perhaps') by 'the rise of an urban bourgeoisie' (p. 246).

Taken as a whole, Mango's conception of Byzantium looks consistent and convincing, but aspects of it are, naturally, open to dispute. Let us consider two such issues. The first arises from his treatment of Byzantine society after the eleventh century. Despite his criticism of Ostrogorsky's thesis, Mango assumes, with Ostrogorsky, that the 'feudalization' of the eleventh century

[11] G. Ostrogorsky, 'Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages', *DOP*, XIII (1959), pp. 45–66.

coincides with the start of the collapse. 'The economic and social upsurge . . . was cut short before it had achieved any durable results'; Alexius I is a '"saviour"', in ironic quotation marks (p. 58); it is 'perhaps a wonder' that the Comnenian state managed to survive for a century (p. 59); policies of the Comneni are the same as those of the Palaeologi (pp. 53, 59).

Mango's periodization of Byzantine history is almost the same as that offered by Beck (Mango, pp. 1–5; Beck, pp. 29–32). Both scholars make a tripartite division into Early, Middle and Late phases. Both take political and territorial changes as the dividing criteria, and both date the Middle period from the Arab expansion in the first half of the seventh century. They are at variance only in the way in which they date the transition from the Middle period to the Late. Beck confidently places the end of the Middle period in 1204, which he claims to be 'an appropriate and generally acknowledged date' (p. 32). Mango, by contrast, states that scholars have chosen 1204 'with less justification' (p. 1) than the 1070s, when the Turks occupied Asia Minor.

But was the Byzantine twelfth century really a period of decline? Robert Browning is more cautious in his judgement, calling the Comnenian age 'one full of paradoxes'.[12] The twelfth century – the century which produced most of the writers treated in the present book – does seem to pose particular problems for historians of Byzantium. Beck incorporates it into his Middle phase; Mango pushes it into the Late phase; and Browning defines it as a separate stage in itself. Yet urban life, which is so important to most of Mango's argument, still flourished. The famines which appear with devastating regularity in the tenth and eleventh centuries are hardly mentioned in twelfth-century sources. Not only did westerners still perceive Byzantium as an orchard in bloom; the empire did in fact still supply Italy and other neighbouring countries with grain. An upsurge in the realm of literature and art is recognized by Mango himself; and it would be hard to deny that Manuel I was a worthy rival to Frederick Barbarossa. Moreover, recent books by Michael Hendy and Michael Angold make the 'generally acknowledged date' of 1204 also disputable:[13] they show that the economic and

[12] R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1980), p. 142.

[13] M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Washington D.C., 1969); M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (London, 1975).

monetary system survived the capture of Constantinople, and that the *Territorialstaat* of Nicaea was a robust body, fully able to hold its own among its neighbours. It is quite possible that the real disaster for Byzantium was the reappearance of the will-o-the-wisp idea of universal monarchy, which Michael VIII Palaeologus pursued with completely inadequate resources.[14]

The second major difficulty arises from the structure of Mango's book, rather than from its content. Mango affirms that the seventh century marked 'the beginning of a very different and distinctly medieval world', and that therefore 'the catastrophe of the seventh century is the central event of Byzantine history' (p. 4). Thus one might expect that Mango's picture of the 'conceptual world of Byzantium' would be constructed from post-seventh-century evidence. But in chapter 9 ('The Inhabitants of the Earth') Mango uses later material only in five instances (John of Damascus, the *Vita* of Stephen the Sabaite, Photius, Cecaumenus, and Manuel II), while authors from the fourth century to the seventh are quoted at least twenty-six times. There is an even greater imbalance in chapter 12 ('The Ideal Life'): five quotations from later sources (Theodore the Studite, the *Epanagoge*, the *Book of the Eparch*, a novel of Leo VI, and the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus), while earlier authors are cited forty times, including fourteen references to John Chrysostom, and ten to the *Sacra Parallela* (patristic texts assembled by John of Damascus). Does this mean that the 'central event of Byzantine history' had little or no effect on the 'conceptual world of Byzantium', and that proto-Byzantine ideas on the oecumene and on morality remained unchanged throughout both the collapse and the revival of urban life? Does this mean that the *imagines mundi*, as created by the inhabitants of the Late Roman *polis* (from Libanius to Agathias), by the provincial monks of the Dark Ages, by the antiquarians of the ninth and tenth centuries, by the intellectuals of the Byzantine 'Pre-Renaissance', and by the 'knight' or 'burgess' on the eve of the Turkish conquest, were all identical?

Mango does provide some justification for his choice of illustrative quotation. He sets out to describe not 'high' culture, but 'the conceptual level of the average Byzantine' (pp. 8–9); and he

[14] See e.g. H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), p. 116.

shows from the evidence of Byzantine libraries that even in the eleventh century, on this level, 'disregard of contemporary, or near-contemporary literature was typical of the Byzantine world' (p. 240). In a sense, therefore, Mango's quotations are fairly representative of what his 'average Byzantine' might have read. This does not, however, solve the problem. Even if we are to disregard the issue of provenance, surely we cannot ignore the effects of a changing context. Does Mango wish to imply that the meaning, the connotations and associations, of early Byzantine literature remained stable for readers in later centuries? Or were early works read and understood differently as historical circumstances changed?

Despite his own declarations to the contrary, Mango is in danger of perpetuating, implicitly, Beck's notion of *Permanenz, Kontinuität* and *Continuum* in Byzantine culture.

Beck's book, like that of Mango, is inherently polemical; and like Mango, Beck prefers not to name the targets of his critical darts. In modern historiography there are two theses which are broadly accepted, and which are thought to epitomize Byzantium. The *Cambridge Medieval History* expresses them thus: (1) 'The autocratic absolutism of the Byzantine Emperors was the essential feature and the chief support of that state' (J. Ensslin, IV, 2, p. 1); and (2) 'Monks are the sinews and foundations of the Church' (J. Hussey, quoting Theodore the Studite, p. 184). Beck firmly opposes these opinions. He states categorically that 'the Byzantine ruler was by no means an absolute monarch' (p. 40). And he supports his claim by demonstrating that the *res publica* was understood in Byzantium as an institution older than the imperial power, and was set above the emperor (p. 43). He shows how the Byzantine monarchy was restricted by institutions of private law, *Verbände*, including the colonate, *patrocinium*, and *pronoia* (pp. 46–50), and also by local self-government as exercised in urban autonomies, or through the authority of local bishops (pp. 50–1). Beck discusses the functions of three bodies which effectively circumscribed imperial power: the senate, the 'people', and the army (pp. 52–9). He sees the Byzantine empire as a *Wahlmonarchie* (p. 67). He is aware of the need to ask what milieu and what external pressures gave rise to Byzantine imperial theory (p. 43). And he indicates that the bureaucracy could adopt various views of its own relations to the emperor: it could see

itself as a tool in the hands of its ruler; it could identify itself with the 'state', in some kind of opposition to the monarch; or it could represent a specific social group- or caste-mentality (p. 70). In other words, Beck presents an image of a highly complex and sophisticated state apparatus, in which differing and frequently antagonistic social tendencies were elaborately enmeshed.

The chapter on monastic life starts with plain polemic. Beck ridicules (unnamed) Byzantinists who claim that by the sixth century the church administration was already controlled by monks, or who calculate numbers of monks in the empire so vast that they led to a crisis of population: 'where a hand was seen to write, a scriptorium would be found; where two codices could be found, there must have been a library' (p. 207; cf. also 210–11, 228). Byzantium had no monastic orders as such. Most Byzantine monks took the habit only at the threshold of death, and the influence and activity of Byzantine monks cannot be compared to that of their western counterparts (p. 212). *Koinobia* were hard to find in Byzantium (p. 214), and the main social function of monks was thought to be the creation of an ideal of behaviour (p. 217).

Mango, too, discusses the status of monarchs and monks. His image of the emperor is more traditional: after the statement that 'in theory the emperor's authority knew no limits save those imposed by divine laws' (p. 32), he hints at practical restrictions, but does not go into them in any detail; instead he emphasizes the specific role of the emperor as a holy person (p. 219). Contrary to Beck, Mango suggests that the principle of heredity was generally respected, though he finds it strange that the Byzantines never evolved a theory of imperial succession (p. 32). In his treatment of monasticism Mango is more innovative: he insists that monasticism was a lay movement, that the monk was a Christian layman, and that monastic education beyond the most basic level did not exist (pp. 105, 108, 148, 224).

Who, then, can be regarded as the key figure in Byzantine society, if not the absolute autocrat or the contemplative monk? Three interconnected chapters stand at the heart of Beck's book: on political orthodoxy, literature and theology. Here Beck implies that the most significant representative of the Byzantine world is the intellectual. Notably, Beck uses the idea of 'political orthodoxy' to include the impact of religious doctrine and ritual on the political

structure. This is a reversal of the traditional view, in which influence spreads in the opposite direction, from imperial ideology to lay society and the church. Time and again Beck removes the throne from the focus of social life, and replaces it with living and acting human thought.

Runciman complained that Byzantine literature 'lacked a certain creative spontaneity' (Runciman, p. 240). Franz Dölger echoed his lament: although some writers could produce works of considerable merit, Byzantine literature is more an exercise in formal and technical skill than the result of direct inspiration or significant experience (in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 2, pp. 209–10). Guillou's assessment is similar. Beck abandons this well-trodden path and attempts to survey Byzantine literature as a live organism: old genres die out (pp. 112–13), and writers were quite able to feel 'the pulse of time' (p. 125); they could offer apt criticism, not just general eulogy (pp. 139–40). Although most Byzantine literati came from the upper strata of society (pp. 123, 241, 294), they sometimes tried to escape the restrictions of official morality and political orthodoxy. Beck looks in detail at two products of this moral dissidence: erotic romance, and the disparagement of monks (pp. 142–7).

In his chapter on literature Mango makes much the same point. He, too, tries to 'gain some understanding of Byzantine literature in its historical setting' (p. 234), and he connects the development of literature to the disappearance and reappearance of a reading public (p. 237), that is, to the fate of Byzantine cities. In re-assessing the general character of Byzantine literature, both Beck and Mango have made important and positive contributions to the subject: Byzantine literature ceases to be a vain game of artificial imitation, and it begins to assume its proper place in its historical context.

Thus, and by extension, Mango and Beck also bring a new approach to the old and vexatious question of Byzantium's classical heritage. Beck points out that Byzantium had no *Vorgeschichte* or *Frühgeschichte*, no period of myth and oral tradition, that it is simply a late stage in the history of the Greeks and their neighbours (p. 11). Yet he stresses that Byzantine culture was not purely or merely imitative. A Byzantine author might follow a classical model, but he does not thereby produce merely a replica (see p. 111). Mango puts the case even more strongly: Byzantine art and literature may

be 'undeniably very conservative' (p. 256), but at the same time the Byzantine scheme of life was 'the antithesis of the Hellenic ideal' (p. 229). The perception of the classical heritage was an active process: Psellus did indeed have classical models, but the same models had been available to his predecessors, who chose to ignore them (p. 246). In other words the Byzantines at a certain period began to call on classical models to give answers to contemporary problems.

The thesis of continuity has recently been brilliantly defended in an article by Günter Weiss,[15] but it is not a thesis which Beck or Mango accept. Byzantine culture and society were new phenomena, not variations on a Roman theme. In its literature, theology and art, and above all in its 'conceptual world', Byzantium was consistently medieval.

Having shown that Byzantium differs from antiquity, neither Beck nor Mango tries to compare Byzantium with other *medieval* civilizations, such as those of the Arabs or of the Latin West: what features are common to all, and what is specific to one? These are avenues still to be explored.

After he has placed Byzantine literature in its historical context, Beck turns to theology. Can he do the same here? The task is infinitely more complex, but no less necessary. In principle Beck acknowledges that theology ought to be studied in connection with 'the world of learning in its entirety' (p. 167). However, what Beck discusses in the wake of this crucial statement is the lack of ecclesiastical *magisterium* and of Theological schools (schools both of thought and of pupils) (p. 171), the lack of works comparable with the 'great western *Summae*' (p. 175). He describes dogmatics in chronological sequence, stressing especially that Byzantine doctrinal theology did not die out after the Monothelite dispute of the seventh century (p. 183). He surveys Byzantine mysticism, also chronologically. Inquiring into the origins and spread of mysticism in Byzantium, he seeks the answer not, as he himself had prescribed, in 'the entire complex of cultural and everyday life', but in the much more restricted field of spiritual life: in the Byzantines' general interest in the *vita contemplativa*, and in the disadvantages of 'formalized dogmatics' (p. 205). And so the social questions of

[15] G. Weiss, 'Antike und Byzanz. Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftsstruktur', *Historische Zeitschrift*, CCXXIV (1977), pp. 529–60.

theology remain unanswered. For example, is the mysticism of Symeon the Theologian, his 'individualistic' approach to God, his search for a personal way of salvation – is this to be connected with his rejection of social ties, particularly those of friendship? Is it linked to the Byzantine disregard for monastic *koinobia* (which Beck himself demonstrates)? Is it connected with the strength of family ties, so typical of the Byzantine social structure?[16]

Two examples may serve to illustrate the difference between Beck's approach to literature and his treatment of theology. When he speaks of trends in literature, he emphasizes underlying trends in social conditions: 'social circumstances changed', 'social relations had altered' (pp. 110, 125). But he perceives the relationship of society to doctrinal theology as the reverse: society does not influence theology; rather it is the function of dogmatics to influence society. Beck's aim is thus to investigate dogmatics not in isolation, but as a significant phenomenon in Byzantine life, for which dogmatics have themselves created the norms (p. 178). Beck likes figures, although he is well aware of their limited availability for Byzantium. He uses statistics in his chapters on literature and on theology. In the first case he examines the social configuration of Byzantine literati (p. 123), concluding that they coincide approximately with the uppermost layer of society (p. 137). The statistical approach in the chapter on theology serves quite a different purpose. He analyses the Greek manuscript collection of the Escorial, and calculates the percentage of theological manuscripts within it, and then the percentage of dogmatic texts within the corpus of theological manuscripts (pp. 172–3). His figures are thought-provoking, but they are irrelevant to any social observation. Unlike literature, theology is still seen as an independent 'superstructure', not part of the basic framework of social relations and concepts: theology may have affected society, but Beck is apparently not prepared to accept that Byzantine society could have influenced doctrinal teaching.

Beck changes his attitude when he moves from lofty theology to the beliefs of ordinary people. He speaks here mostly of heresies, and he acknowledges that a rebel or nonconformist could express

[16] See J. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army* (Vienna, 1979): A. Guillou, 'Transformations des structures socio-économiques dans le monde byzantin du VIe au VIIIe siècle', *ZRVI*, XIX (1980), p. 76.

his political ideas in the form of dogma (p. 259), and that Byzantine dualists did in fact criticize social and ecclesiastical conditions (p. 273). In other words, sublime theology was a product of pure spiritual development, while heresies could be tainted by a social context. But was *Der Glaube der Byzantiner*, the beliefs of ordinary people, really restricted to heresies, or to demonology and astrology (pp. 267–9), that is, to a circle of ideas and images found mainly outside the official church and its political orthodoxy?

The Byzantine world outlook has long been identified with a doctrinal concept. Runciman distinguishes this doctrinal concept from 'superstition' which, according to him (p. 132), included the love of images, the cult of relics, and thaumaturgy. In the *Cambridge Medieval History* popular beliefs are treated with disdain as superstition and obscurantism (R. Jenkins, IV, 2, p. 83), with their roots among 'illiterate and brutish rustics' (p. 101); or as superstition and pseudo-science (K. Vogel, p. 296). Popular beliefs are supposedly connected either with miraculous healing, rainmaking and fortune-telling (p. 101), or with entertainments and festivals (pp. 92–3, 96). Not until Guillou were Byzantine popular beliefs presented as a system, as 'modes of thought'. Guillou's system is broad, including such categories as time (pp. 227–8), labour and profit (231–2), entertainment (232–3), order (237). Such a system of popular beliefs, opinions and images is the central concern of Ducellier's book. Mango follows the same path. His 'conceptual world of Byzantium' encompasses the invisible cosmos, the physical universe, the inhabitants of the earth, time both as historical past and as eschatological future, and eventually political, social and ethical ideals. None of these topics, save that of the historical past, is touched upon by Beck.

Furthermore, Mango suggests that the cosmos, including the heavens, was imagined by the Byzantines in terms of real life. The *Awesome and Edifying Vision* of the monk Cosmas (dating from the first half of the tenth century) endows the imperial palace of heaven with all the typical features of earthly palaces (p. 153). Another tenth-century text, the *Vita* of Basil the Younger, depicts the way to heaven as a road through twenty-one *teloneia* – 'toll-gates' – where the presiding demons check detailed ledgers in which every transgression is entered. Mango comments: 'the burden of imperial

bureaucracy and the fear of the tax-collector could not have been represented more graphically' (p. 164).[17]

Two basic principles of the Byzantine social ideal are especially noteworthy: order (*taxis*) (p. 218), and family ties: 'the family was the basic cell of human existence' (p. 227). Byzantinists are now giving close attention to both.

The 'conceptual world' in Mango's book is far from complete. We do not find there the idea of labour and profit, of wealth and poverty, or the language of gesture and expression. Mango mentions only in passing the Byzantine condemnation of laughter (p. 225). We also miss Byzantine ritualism, which includes not only liturgical services and imperial ceremonial, but also the less well-studied rituals of birth, marriage and death. What did the Byzantines eat? How did they treat their children? One could extend the list of questions almost at will. Nevertheless, this section of Mango's book is a particularly important contribution to modern Byzantine studies. Taking the lead from western medievalists, Byzantinists have only recently begun to investigate the Byzantine conceptual world. Continued inquiry will doubtless reveal to us many hidden aspects of Byzantine life.

The present survey has emphasized the differences, the contrasts between the recent books by Mango and Beck. These contrasts are highly significant. They show that the old framework for the description of Byzantine civilization, which had been almost mandatory after Runciman, is now collapsed and abandoned. Yet it has not been replaced by a commonly accepted new scheme. Byzantine *Kulturgeschichte* is in a state of flux, of search and of discovery, when different approaches are inevitable, necessary and profitable.

[17] cf. the same idea in the tenth-century *Vita* of Elias Speleotes, *AASS*, Sept. III, 876 F.

II

The social views of Michael Attaleiates

The eleventh-century Byzantine historian Michael Attaleiates was no faceless annalist, no impersonal and impartial recorder of heterogeneous and disconnected facts. The story he tells is subjective and individual.[1] He himself was both an observer of, and a participant in, the events which he describes. He passes judgement on these events, and he manipulates his material with all manner of artful artifice, such as speeches, episodic digressions and rhetorical invective.

The modern reader is faced with a problem: are Attaleiates' views peculiarly his own, or are they typical of the views of some broader social group? Does Attaleiates merely articulate an arbitrary set of personal opinions on specific events, or do his attitudes reflect, in any way systematically, the interests, prejudices and aspirations of an identifiable section of Byzantine society? Nobody has examined these questions in great detail, but some scholars have nevertheless produced answers. The result is confusion. Ostrogorsky sees Attaleiates as a supporter of the feudal military aristocracy;[2] Tinnefeld proposes that his views are those of a rich landowner who idealizes the emperor Nicephorus III Botaneiates (Botaneiates came from the military aristocracy of Asia Minor);[3] and Litavrin suggests that Attaleiates 'expresses the interests of the senate', but is at the same time not absolutely opposed to the military aristocracy.[4]

[1] On individuality in Byzantine authors see H. G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner* (Vienna, 1974), p. 21.
[2] G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, transl. J. Hussey (2nd Engl. ed., Oxford, 1968), p. 317.
[3] F. H. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Munich, 1971), pp. 136, 140.
[4] See Litavrin's introduction to Cec., pp. 77ff.; also *idem*, 'Otvet retsenzentu', *VV*, xxxvi (1974), p. 177.

Who, then, is the 'real' Attaleiates? Simply a landowner? A representative of the feudal aristocracy? Or of the urban bureaucracy (the senate)? Or perhaps of something else entirely? Clearly these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily without a thorough analysis of the text of his *History*. Here we shall attempt to provide such an analysis.[5]

Attaleiates does idealize Nicephorus Botaneiates. This much at least is self-evident. Yet the statement immediately provokes three further questions. In the first place, just how sincere is Attaleiates in his praise? He dedicates his work to Nicephorus; but Nicephorus was reigning emperor at the time. To discount the praise as mere lip-service may be tempting, but is not, in our opinion, appropriate. Attaleiates enjoyed the favours of the previous emperors Romanus IV and Michael VII, and he served in high positions under them; but as long as they ruled he wrote no history. He started writing soon after Nicephorus' accession to the throne, and probably finished after the emperor's deposition and death.[6] In other words, Attaleiates does not appear to have made a habit of eulogizing emperors in general, nor was he under pressure to eulogize Nicephorus in particular; his enthusiasm may be taken as genuine. Secondly, *why* does Attaleiates so admire Botaneiates? For what specific qualities? An idealized portrait may reveal little of its 'real' subject, but much about its creator, for it reflects and embodies the historian's own view of what a 'good' ruler should be.[7] In this respect Attaleiates' idealized portrayal of Botaneiates would remain informative regardless of its sincerity. And thirdly, how does the ideal image constructed by Attaleiates compare with the traditional Byzantine imperial ideal?

The classical view of the virtues necessary to a ruler was summarized by Menander of Laodicea (third century A.D.), who

[5] Apart from the Bonn ed. of Attaleiates we have used the Parisian (*P*) and Escorial (*E*) manuscripts, on which see A. Pertusi, 'Per la critica del testo della "storia" di Michele Attaliate', *JÖB*, VII (1958), pp. 59–73; A. P. Kazhdan, 'Kriticheskiye zametki po povodu izdaniya vizantiyskikh pamyatnikov', *VV*, XVIII (1961), pp. 282–4; H. Thurn, 'Textgeschichtliches zu Michael Attaleiates', *BZ*, LVII (1964), pp. 293–301; also the conjectures of S. Röckl, 'Studien zu byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern', *Blätter für das Bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, XX (1884), pp. 278–82.

[6] E. Th. Tsolakes, 'Das Geschichtswerk des Michael Attaleiates und die Zeit seiner Abfassung', *Byzantina*, II (1970), p. 263; G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich, 1973), p. 153, suggests that Alexius I may have confiscated Attaleiates' estates, but there is no evidence for this.

[7] e.g. Psellus' encomia to Constantine X and Michael VII: see Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 111ff.

developed the encomiastic form which was to become the model for the genre of 'βασιλικὸς λόγος' – panegyrics addressed to the emperor. According to Menander's scheme, one should start by praising one's hero's land and ancestors (though this never in fact became obligatory), his physical virtues, his education and, most prominent of all, his deeds. Drawing on Platonic and Aristotelian ethics, Menander distinguishes four basic qualities which should adorn the ideal emperor: courage ('ἀνδρεία'), righteousness ('δικαιοσύνη'), prudence or moderation ('σωφροσύνη'), and good sense ('φρόνησις'). These qualities, together with the hero's ubiquitous good fortune, were the foundations of his success: of his military victories and of his wise government (his imposition of reasonable, rather than excessive, taxation; his impartial administration of justice; his philanthropy and his good works).[8]

Byzantine political phraseology retained many, though certainly not all, of Menander's formulae. Professor Hunger, in his analysis of the prefaces to imperial decrees, condenses the Byzantine imperial ideal into the following four basic elements:[9]

1 Imperial power proceeds from God; by extension the sovereign loves God and imitates Him.
2 The sovereign is responsibly concerned for his subjects.
3 The sovereign ensures that justice is done.
4 The sovereign displays generosity ('εὐεργεσία') and philanthropy.

One can find similar elements of the imperial ideal in many works of Byzantine rhetoric. The most important is that known as the *Speech of Justin II to Tiberius*. This *Speech* is recorded by Theophylact Simocatta, repeated by the chronicler Theophanes, and variously paraphrased by later historians right down to Zonaras and Nicephorus Callistus.[10] Its prescriptions (according to Theophylact and Theophanes) are as follows:

[8] See J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 153–6.

[9] H. Hunger, *Prooimion* (Vienna, 1964), pp. 49–154; see also G. Rösch, *Onoma Basileias, Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in Spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit* (Vienna, 1978).

[10] See V. E. Val'denberg, '"Rech'" Yustina II k Tiveriyu', *Izvestiya AN SSSR. Otd. guman. nauk* (1928), no. 2, pp. 111–40; *idem*, '"Rech'" Yustina II v drevnerusskoy literature', *Doklady AN SSR* (1930), no. 7, p. 121; also I. S. Chichurov, 'Feofan – kompilyator Feofilakta Simokaty', *ADSV*, x (1973), p. 205. Similar qualities are required in the *Mirror of Princes* by Agapetus: see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 160; J. Irmscher, 'Das Bild des Untertanen im Fürstenspiegel des Agapetos', *Klio*, LX (1978), pp. 507–9. Agapetus' work was extremely

1 The power of the emperor comes from God (i.e. as point 1 in Hunger's list).
2 The emperor must care for his subjects: 'respect your power' (i.e. use it responsibly);[11] the emperor must not gamble his subjects' lives for his own political gain, nor must he return evil for evil, nor must he be arrogant and aloof with his subjects, as if they were servants or children. These strictures roughly correspond to point 2 in Hunger's list.
3 The ruler nevertheless enjoys a special relationship with certain privileged groups: he should view his courtiers as representatives, or as symbols, of the entire state; and he must be particularly solicitous about the well-being of his soldiers.
4 Government must act fairly. Justin does not, however, impose the legal concept of 'justice' (which would have been equivalent to point 3 in Hunger's list), but simply advises the ruler not to heed flatterers. Curiously enough, Theophanes changes 'flatterers' into 'soldiers' (which his editor, de Boor, emends back to 'flatterers', in blatant disregard of the manuscript tradition).
5 The ruler must protect the property of the wealthy, and also provide for the needs of the poor. These two obligations are roughly equivalent to the 'philanthropy' and 'generosity' of Hunger's list.

The formulae of the *Speech* were significantly adapted by Zonaras.[12] Zonaras begins with the statement that the emperor must worship God, give generously ('εὐεργετεῖν') to his subjects, and defend innocent sufferers. He stresses that the emperor is not only chosen *by* God, but is also obliged to show due reverence *to* God. And Zonaras introduces two extra requirements: the ruler must curb the rapacity of the army (cf. Theophanes' transformation of 'flatterers' into 'soldiers'); and he must ensure that private citizens may enjoy the possession of their property undisturbed ('ἀνεπιφθόνως'). Zonaras does concede that the poor should be helped if possible, but he shifts the balance of Theophylact's and Theophanes' fifth point in favour of the rich.

popular both within and beyond Byzantium: see I. Ševčenko, 'Agapetus East and West', *RESEE*, XVI, 1 (1978), pp. 3–44.

[11] Val'denberg, '"Rech'" Yustina II k Tiveriyu', pp. 121ff., takes the expression to mean 'do not treat your power as if it were your private property'; this maxim he somewhat fancifully dubs the 'patriarchal-patrimonial principle'.

[12] Val'denberg, '"Rech'" Yustina II k Tiveriyu', pp. 135–7.

Despite some variations of emphasis the traditional Byzantine imperial ideal seems regularly to have contained the following basic elements: (1) divine favour, together with its corollary, divine worship; (2) active concern for one's subjects, as displayed both (3) morally, in the administration of justice, and (4) economically, in the protection and generous provision of property.

Similar sentiments appear also in the so-called *Strategicon* of Cecaumenus: (1) the emperor is appointed by, and may at any moment be cast down by, God (Cec., pp. 274/9; 290/2–5); (2) the emperor should be a father to his subjects (p. 284/8–10); (3) the emperor is concerned to see that the army, the administration and private citizens receive according to their needs – and he is particularly attentive to the army. His own family and associates must not abuse their position (pp. 284/17–19; 276/11; 290/15–16; 286/1–6). (4) The emperor maintains impartial justice, having no regard either for flatterers or for mendacious informants (pp. 274/11–23; 290/10). Cecaumenus considerably weakens Theophylact's and Theophanes' fifth point, for he would have the emperor show generosity ('εὐεργεσίαι') only to those who deserve it (p. 276/7–9). Yet he elaborates at some length the theme of piety: the emperor must act in the fear of God; as emperor he makes the law, but being a man he is also subject to God's laws (pp. 284/16–17; 274/1–7). And Cecaumenus provides several pieces of practical advice: do not elevate foreigners; keep a watchful eye on the supply of food and arms, and on the maintenance of the navy, pay regular visits to the provinces (pp. 278/8; 288/21–5; 290/18; 296/15–16).

Bearing in mind this common store of social and personal qualities which constitute the traditional Byzantine imperial ideal, let us now turn to Attaleiates, and to the ideal paradigm which is the climax of his *History*.[13] Attaleiates assembles his portrait of Nicephorus III from the following elements:

1 Nobility of lineage ('ἡ τοῦ γένους μεγαλειότης', Attal., p. 216/21). Botaneiates was descended from the Phocae, who in turn were descended from the famous Fabii; the emperor was impeccably noble ('εὐγενέστατος'), heir to a glorious family; among his ancestors he could count the Scipiones and Aemilius

[13] cf. Theophanes, whose ideal paradigm (Constantine the Great) is the starting-point; see I. S. Chichurov, *Mesto 'Khronografii' Feofana (nachalo IX v.) v rannevizantiyskoy istoriograficheskoy traditsii (IV-nach. IX v.)* (avtoref. diss., Moscow, 1975), pp. 11–14.

Paulus; and, passing from legend to recent history, he could look to the distinguished deeds of his father and grandfather (pp. 217–20; 230–7; 285/16; 287/19–20). Nor was Attaleiates the only late eleventh-century author to see Nicephorus III in this light: even that most aristocratic historian Bryennius called the emperor 'one of the noblest men of the east' (Bryen., p. 237/15–16).

2 Military prowess. Everybody, exclaims Attaleiates, was overcome with love for the new sovereign when they learned about his glory in battle, about his valour which matched his nobility, for not one major war was fought without his personal participation (Attal., p. 255/9–15). Attaleiates constantly returns to his hero's military achievements: for eleven days and nights he and his men held off the advance of the Pechenegs – a feat not equalled by any other Roman or 'Persian' in ancient times or modern; in battle at Nicaea the renowned ('περιβόητος') Botaneiates distinguished himself above all others; in 1064 the renowned Botaneiates fiercely resisted the Uzes in their crossing of the Danube; he saved Romanus Diogenes in an encounter with the Sauromatians (Hungarians); when the Varangians rebelled, Botaneiates neither flinched nor fled, as others might have done, but with few to support him he stood firm under a hail of arrows; when he took part in the expedition of John Ducas against the seditious Roussel of Bailleul he advised against crossing the river Sangarius, so as to force Roussel to cross the bridge himself – but Ducas did not heed this 'excellent advice', and was defeated (Attal., pp. 42/19–22; 56/1–5; 83/10–18; 97/20–3; 295/8–16; 185–6). It is instructive to compare other historians' accounts of this last episode. The Continuator of Scylitzes, in his paraphrase of Attaleiates, says nothing about any 'excellent advice'; instead he draws attention to the fact that Botaneiates fled with a handful of men (Scyl. Cont., p. 158/17). Bryennius lays even greater emphasis on Botaneiates' flight, though he does concede a degree of bravery (Bryen., p. 171/3–7). Yet where Bryennius is condescending, Attaleiates is eulogistic: Botaneiates and his men beat an orderly retreat, without fear or alarm. And here too our author manages to work in a mention of his hero's lineage, of the military prowess passed down from his ancestors. Bravery and nobility are interlinked.[14]

[14] On this see also Attal., p. 302/15.

3 Philanthropy and justice. Attaleiates mentions these qualities in his introduction (along with Botaneiates' military upbringing), and he alludes to them frequently throughout his work: Botaneiates was a peace-loving philanthropist, incapable of arrogance; he shone with the light of virtue and truth, adorned by goodness and justice; he was merciful: after he had suppressed a revolt he subjected nobody to mutilation, but rather displayed 'universal sympathy', and in his unimaginable kindness he made no confiscations; he had an incomparable ability to lighten the burden of human suffering, to console and to compensate in misfortune; it was his intention to wipe from the face of the earth all injustice and lawlessness; Constantinople revered him for, among other virtues, his modesty and kindess (Attal., pp. 3/5–9; 239/7–8; 293–4; 303/5–8; 280/2–4; 255/18–23).

4 Generosity. In his introduction, addressed to the emperor, Attaleiates exclaims: 'you have lavished the wealth of your goodness unstintingly upon all' (p. 3/12–13). The expression is ambiguous. The primary meaning of 'πλοῦτος τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος' is 'the sum of your virtues', but the use of the word 'πλοῦτος' ('wealth') is deliberately suggestive, especially in combination with 'ἀφθονώτατα' ('unstintingly', 'most bounteously'). A few lines on, Attaleiates makes plain his metaphor: the emperor endowed his subjects with all manner of honours, gifts and bounteous ('ἀφθόνοις') favours (p. 4/2–5). Variations on the theme of generosity recur throughout Attaleiates' *History*: the emperor was a veritable vine (John 15.1), spreading abundantly the fruits of his wealth; his generosity dwarfed that of the famed river Pactolus, which had been called Chrysorrhoas because it flowed with gold down to the land of the Lydians; the flow of Botaneiates' imperial gifts was inexhaustible. Alexander the Great used to lament 'today I did not reign' on days when he had dispensed no favours; but in the reign of Botaneiates such days did not exist. The emperor satisfied every petition instantly, and his concern (p. 274/2, read 'ἐπιμέλεια' for 'ἐπιμένεια') for doing good came to be shared by all his subjects. Even the poor became wealthy, as they received generously from those who had been favoured by the emperor. Occasionally Attaleiates is more specific: the emperor gave rich endowments of land, up to one hundred *litrae*; he distributed titles and offices, estates and

gold; he freed the plebs and the nobility from debts, cancelled arrears, and gave generous pay and bonuses to the army. Small wonder that all were amazed, unable to fathom the source of such bounty (Attal., pp. 261/13–15; 273–6; 280/5–8; 283/8–21; 306/12–15). Botaneiates' generosity is all the more pronounced in contrast with the niggardliness of his predecessors Constantine X and Michael VII (see below).

Botaneiates did, it seems, genuinely impress his contemporaries with his generosity. The Continuator of Scylitzes normally jettisons Attaleiates' laudatory excesses, but he does note that Botaneiates abolished all public debts (Scyl. Cont., p. 179/9–11). The aristocrat Bryennius is ambivalent: he calls the emperor 'most magnanimous' ('ἐλευθερώτατος') – a quality shared with the writer's own grandfather, the pretender Nicephorus Bryennius; but the magnanimity of Botaneiates exceeds the bounds of good sense, and leads to considerable confusion. What exactly does Bryennius consider to be excessive? Nicephorus III, says the historian, made liberal use of both of the traditional forms of reward: titles ('ἀξιώματα') and offices ('ὀφφίκια'); he handed them out to anybody who cared to ask for them, thus incurring expenses above his income, and bankrupting the treasury (Bryen., pp. 257/5–259/6). Significantly, Bryennius omits to mention precisely those forms of 'generosity' to which Attaleiates gives most prominence: namely, the distribution of land and the remission of arrears. And he singles out for condemnation precisely those forms of generosity which were likely to have won for Botaneiates the support of the Constantinopolitan élite at the expense of the provincial magnates: the granting of titles and offices. And what was for Attaleiates the height of virtue was for Bryennius the deepest folly: that the emperor should have seen fit to satisfy *every* petitioner, and not just the deserving. Bryennius' disapproval of such rash frivolity is shared by Cecaumenus (see above).

5 Divine favour. Attaleiates never tires of repeating that Nicephorus III became emperor by divine choice ('ψῆφος'); that he was selected and bestowed upon his people by God, and was protected by the power of God's right hand; the bloodless coup of his accession was proof both of his faith and of his divine preselection (Attal., pp. 214/3–7; 239/12–13; 257/14; 263/10–11;

264/2–3; 265/1; 268/14–15; 269/10; 271/9–10; 277/11–12; 302/6). The corollary of divine favour is divine imitation: the emperor as a likeness or image of God, in his deeds, his person and his presence (pp. 251/14–16; 272/6; 281/10–11; 282/6; 293/24; 322/29). Bryennius also mentions Botaneiates' selection by God, but only in the context of a remark attributed to the emperor himself, and not therefore as an opinion necessarily held by the author (Bryen., p. 263/9–10).

6 Piety. Attaleiates constantly refers to the emperor as 'Christ-loving', 'God-loving', 'most pious' (e.g. pp. 213/10; 279/17; 319/13). The emperor's piety was expressed mainly in public ceremony: his celebration of religious festivals, his commemoration of martyrs, his presence at regular services, and his processions to church (pp. 319/14–320/12). Yet here Attaleiates rather surprisingly adds that Botaneiates' piety was tainted by his only fault ('ἐλάττωμα'): his greed, which led him to covet the eternal kingdom of heaven in addition to his earthly dominions (p. 322/5–9).

7 Good sense and intelligence. Not as prominent as the other virtues, but Attaleiates does occasionally mention the emperor's skill in administration, his astuteness in the selection of men to serve him, and his thirst for knowledge; Botaneiates devoted all his days and sleepless nights to reading, to the direction of affairs of state, and to the just enforcement of the law (pp. 4/13–5/2; 288/20–1; 206/7; 312/1–3; 314/21). But Attaleiates' remarks are desultory, and probably not well founded in reality. The Continuator of Scylitzes considered Nicephorus III to be sluggish and obtuse (Scyl. Cont., pp. 185/28–9; 186/9–10). Bryennius, too, speaks of the emperor's simple-mindedness and levity; Botaneiates may have been a sound citizen and a good soldier, but he was just not suited for the very highest office (Bryen., pp. 55/10–14; 299/2–9; 301/16).

Such, then, is Attaleiates' paradigm of imperial virtue: nobility, military prowess, philanthropy, generosity and (with rather less emphasis) piety and intelligence. Botaneiates was the model; but how did his predecessors measure up to this standard?

Attaleiates praises Constantine the Great not only for his piety, but also for his military skill – which is significant, since Theophanes reckoned that Constantine's qualities as a general

hardly merited serious attention. Nicephorus Phocas was a pious man, a wise counsellor, a brave soldier, and a just and prudent ruler; in other words (notes Attaleiates) he was just like his descendant Nicephorus III Botaneiates. Michael IV is likewise assessed positively: he left after him the memory of his virtues (Attaleiates seems to have in mind his piety) and of the victory which he sustained over the Bulgarians despite his own poor health (Attal., pp. 217/20–2; 223/12–13; 227/6; 228/14–16; 8/18–19; 10/1–14).

Attaleiates' descriptions of subsequent rulers are more complicated and ambivalent. Michael V at first displayed admirable fairness and generosity, but later proved to be ungrateful and unjust (pp. 11/9–15; 15/5–7). Constantine IX is, to begin with, hailed as an aristocrat, a native of the capital, more generous than his predecessor, a brave warrior who had personally repelled the attack of the Russians and had condemned his generals' timidity, a legislator mindful of justice yet merciful to insurgents – in short, he possessed all the paradigmatic virtues (pp. 18/5–12; 20/16–22/13; 35/8–9; 47/15–18; 48/1–11). Yet at the same time he had a weakness for soft living and amorous dalliance; he enjoyed mime; and through his avarice ('πλεονεξία') he facilitated the onslaught of the Turks (pp. 44/19; 47/19–21). Furthermore, claims Attaleiates, Constantine changed radically towards the end of his life: he cruelly persecuted the well-off ('εὐποροῦντες') subjecting them to unjust and unprecedented harassment ('καινοφανῆ ζητήματα καὶ προβλήματα', p. 50/12–20). Unfortunately it is not at all clear who exactly are meant by the 'εὐποροῦντες'. In Grégoire's translation,[15] Constantine 'goes against' ('προστεθείς') the more powerful ('τοῖς δεινοτέροις') tax-gatherers and imposes upon *them* various fines and fictitious debts. However, a more natural meaning is perhaps as follows: in league with ('προστεθείς') the more foul ('τοῖς δεινοτέροις') tax-gatherers Constantine imposed upon absolutely *everybody* unprecedented fines and fictitious debts, and thus ('ἐντεῦθεν', *E*; Bonn ed. omits) sucked the very life from all who had enjoyed any degree of prosperity. If one accepts this reading of the passage it becomes clear that Attaleiates is not siding with the tax-collectors, but with the wealthy citizens who suffered at their hands. Finally, Attaleiates criticizes Constantine IX for conducting

[15] H. Grégoire, 'Michel Attaleiatès. Histoire', *Byz.*, XXVIII (1958), p. 358.

an official investigation of monastic and church property: Constantine violated the pious traditions of imperial rule, and it was entirely appropriate that (as rumour had it) his sudden death was a blow from heaven (p. 51/3–12).

Attaleiates has little regard for Michael VI: formerly an official in the military treasury,[16] Michael's reign was undistinguished; he was unintelligent and frivolous, and was easily manipulated by the friends of the late empress Theodora; his only praiseworthy action occurred when in 1057 he forbade his guards to resist those who conspired against him, for he considered it misanthropic and arrogant for a man to cause others to die on his own account (pp. 52/15–53/2; 58/19–59/2).

Attaleiates' treatment of Isaac I Comnenus is extremely complicated. The balance of his opinions is most clearly intelligible when his narrative is compared with that of the Continuator of Scylitzes.[17]

Attaleiates starts with the compliments: Isaac came from a famous noble family of the east; his deeds of valour were well known to Romans and barbarians alike; he was generous to his followers (pp. 53/11–12; 59/22–60/6). Then, however, the historian turns critical, and as in the case of Constantine IX he directs his criticism mainly at the emperor's fiscal policies: Isaac was a ruthless debt-collector; he cut the distribution of offices; like a hunter he pursued income relentlessly wherever he could find it; his confiscations both of private and of monastic land and property were at the very least impious, and quite possibly illegal as well (p. 61/1–14).

The Continuator of Scylitzes rearranges these critical remarks in a way which subtly reveals his different point of view: Isaac was indeed a harsh debt-collector but, as the Continuator explains, he was no more harsh than the situation demanded; the army was rotting away, and as a result the borders of the empire were

[16] 'σέ[κρετον]', conjectured by I. Karayannopoulos, 'Byzantina symmeikta', *Byzantina*, v (1973), pp. 105ff.; cf. A. Pertusi, 'Per la critica . . .', p. 65, who proposes 'σε[μνότερον]' or 'σε[μνοπρεπῶς]',.

[17] Tsolakes, in his edition of Scyl. Cont., pp. 76–99, argues that the Continuator was in fact Scylitzes himself. This hypothesis is accepted by J. Thurn in his edition of Scylitzes, pp. IX ff.; also by W. Seibt, 'Ioannes Skylitzes. Zur Person des Chronisten', *JÖB*, XXV (1976), p. 81; and, with reservations, by Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 391ff. For objections see the reviews of Tsolakes by P. Speck in *Hellēnika*, XXII (1969), pp. 478–9, and by A. P. Kazhdan in *VV*, XXXII (1971), p. 260; also the review of Cec. by F. Tinnefeld, *Byzantina*, VI (1974), p. 441.

shamefully contracting (Attaleiates blandly comments only that the emperor needed to pay his troops for further wars). The Continuator omits the description of Isaac as an avaricious and relentless hunter. And he completely reverses Attaleiates' judgement of Isaac's confiscations: yes, the confiscations were thought impious and illegal – by those whose opinions were superficial and confused! (Scyl. Cont., pp. 60/18–23; 103/20–104/12).

The Continuator does concede that Isaac had seized power illegally, but he stresses that through his abdication the emperor showed sincere repentance, and that in his monastic retirement he bore himself modestly, humbly, and with complete obedience to his abbot (Scyl. Cont., pp. 108/13–17; 109/3–7; cf. the less emotional attitude of Attal., p. 69/6–8). And the Continuator, unlike Attaleiates, provides an 'annalistic' list of Isaac's qualities: firm in character, modest in spirit, keen in understanding, strong of hand, quick in intelligence, experienced in matters of war, fearsome to his enemies, benevolent to his friends, assiduous in learning (Scyl. Cont., p. 110/20–2).

Clearly the Continuator is more favourably disposed than Attaleiates both towards Isaac's person and towards his fiscal policies.

Attaleiates' portrayal of Constantine X Ducas is largely negative. Before he ascended the throne Constantine had been generous and blameless, and even at the start of his reign he had behaved with modesty and moderation (Attal., pp. 71/9–11; 75/16–17; 77/13–19); but eventually he became corrupted by the flattery of court, and so revealed his two chief vices (or rather, he broke two of the cardinal rules of imperial virtue): in the first place, he neglected the military, so that soldiers turned into flatterers and the army was manned by incompetents (pp. 76/4–5, 10–12; 77/5–6; 85/8; cf. Scyl. Cont., p. 112/8–11). And in the second place he was inordinately mean, and obsessed with tax-enforcement – in other words, he lacked Botaneiates-like 'generosity'; this, in turn, perverted his 'justice', as he became over-indulgent towards the litigious zeal of his tax-gatherers (again those foul tax-gatherers!); and with the emperor so preoccupied with accumulating money and dealing with petty litigation, military affairs could not but suffer: Ani was lost because Constantine did not know the value of generosity in times of need; and the best soldiers quit the army when their pay

was cut (Attal., pp. 76/1–3, 7–9; 77/2–3; 78/23–79/3; 80/10; 82/18–20; 84/7–8; 85/2).

The Continuator of Scylitzes adds the significant observation that Constantine, in his handling of litigation, was intolerably biased against the *dynatoi* (Scyl. Cont., p. 112/14–16). Here, as in the case of Isaac I, one can sense a contrast between the pro-*dynatoi* opinions of the Continuator and the anti-*dynatoi* opinions of Attaleiates. In this instance Attaleiates' social views are indicated not by his statements, but by his silence. Are there other such revealing silences? What qualities of Constantine X does he not deem fit to mention?

According to the Continuator the unexpected success against the Uzes in 1065 was generally attributed to the emperor's piety: Constantine had fasted and prayed, and lo, a wondrous sign had appeared (Scyl. Cont., pp. 115/17–116/4). Attaleiates is silent on these matters. For him piety was an imperial virtue which Constantine X had no right to claim.

Constantine belonged to the nobility. That, at any rate, was the opinion of Psellus – who also, incidentally, calls him 'most pious' (Psellus, *Chron.* II, p. 140 iii/8, vi/3–5). Bryennius traces the lineage of the Ducae back to the time of Constantine the Great (Bryen., pp. 67/21–69/4). All the more interesting, therefore, that Attaleiates says nothing about the origins of the Ducae, even if he does not actually go so far as Zonaras (Zon. III, pp. 675/18–676/8), who argues the point with Psellus.

Other writers note Constantine's concern for the administration of justice (i.e. that which Attaleiates considers his petty litigiousness). This was obviously a real feature of his character, however we might choose to interpret it (see Psellus, *Chron.* II, p. 146 xvi/1–10; Bryen., pp. 83/17–85/2). Bryennius says nothing about Constantine's attitude to taxation, or about his dealings with the army. And on both these issues Psellus expresses his approval: Constantine was concerned with military enrollment, and he therefore acted sensibly in replenishing the treasury (Psellus, *Chron.* II, p. 139 ii/11, iii/1–8).

The scale of imperial virtues (or, we should add, of their antitheses) is only partially and unevenly employed by Attaleiates in his description of Romanus IV Diogenes. Pride of place goes to the emperor's military prowess: in battle with hostile peoples

Romanus laid his life (Attal. p. 176/9, after 'ψυχήν' add 'θέντος' from *E*) at the disposal of the land of the Rhomaioi; he kept a diligent eye on the state of the army; a student of Ares, a brave and often victorious warrior, even at Manzikert he put up a fierce and spirited resistance (pp. 101/20–102/5; 104/7–8; 108/1–4; 114/2–22; 163/17–19). Attaleiates makes many more statements in similar vein. The Continuator of Scylitzes usually retains them. Indeed many writers, even those like Bryennius who were hostile to Romanus, are ready to admit his bravery in war (Bryen., pp. 117/15–21; 143/1–4). The exception is Psellus, who detested Romanus, and who argues that the common view was fallacious and that Romanus' victories were illusory (Psellus, *Chron.* II, pp. 159 xiii/8; 160 xvii/3–5).

Romanus seems to have had no other virtues. Attaleiates mentions in passing (and the Continuator omits) his nobility; Psellus mentions his lineage only on his mother's side, although Zonaras speaks also of a noble father (Attal., p. 99/10; Psellus, *Chron.* II, p. 157 x/2; on Zonaras see below). Attaleiates also spares a brief word for the emperor's magnanimity (p. 106/17–19).

As for Romanus' negative qualities, chief among them was his cruelty (the antithesis of philanthropy): he put all his Turkish prisoners to death; he sentenced a soldier to have his nose sliced for stealing a donkey. He was also conceited (a view which Psellus heartily endorsed).[18] And, finally, he was mean (Attal., pp. 127/15–128/3; 144/20–1; 152/23–153/12). Judged alongside the 'ideal' paradigm, the character of Romanus IV is thus decidedly lopsided: one virtue – military excellence – overshadows everything else, despite the fact that the emperor was defeated at Manzikert and perished tragically in civil war.

The true 'anti-hero' of Attaleiates' *History* is Michael VII, the immediate predecessor of Nicephorus Botaneiates, and with him Attaleiates simply ignores the normal scale of virtues. His two main qualities are his incompetence at running the country and his indifference to the fate of his people. Eventually Michael was deposed and appointed metropolitan of Ephesus, which post, Attaleiates acidly remarks, 'seemed well suited to his nature, for he was simple of mind, unskilled in practical affairs, and incapable of

[18] See Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 112, 223–4.

comprehending the job of an emperor' (p. 303/20–3). Attaleiates continually harps on Michael's simplicity ('ἁπλότης καὶ ἀφέλεια', p. 180/14–15): he lacked the intelligence and experience to make major decisions; he behaved like a child; his actions, blind and tyrannical rather than imperial, caused the ruin of the 'Ausonians'; his government was stupid and frivolous (pp. 208/12–14; 214/10–13; 243/19; 257/18). Several episodes illustrate Michael's indifference to his subjects: while famine raged in Constantinople the emperor made no attempt to give aid to its victims; he continued to administer his injustices ('ἀδικημάτων', omitted in Bonn ed.) daily; his government conducted itself as iniquitously as ever, as if oblivious to the threat of war, poverty or the wrath of God; and all Michael's plans and intentions ('καὶ ἐννόημα', omitted in Bonn ed.) were designed the better to abuse and cheat his own citizens, to prise from them the very means by which they lived (pp. 211/14–212/11). When the soldiers from the garrison at Adrianople complained of maladministration Michael had them punished – a piece of idiocy which shocked everybody (p. 210/1–20). When John Ducas returned out of captivity Michael thought only of how he might capture Roussel; he thus neglected the raids by the Turks, the massacres of large numbers of Christians, and the pillaging and looting all over the eastern provinces; and when he did eventually settle his score with Roussel he deprived the state of a powerful defender (pp. 198/10–19; 207/13–16).

Attaleiates fills his narrative with such episodes, and reinforces them with regular verbal assaults on Michael's character and abilities. But these assaults tend to be conducted in very general terms; Attaleiates rarely bothers to discuss any specific quality, any individual feature of Michael's general turpitude. Picking our way through the invective we learn that the emperor made an outward show of justice, and made philanthropic promises; but that his judgements were unworthy of his office. He was miserly, yet still his successor found the coffers bare (pp. 169/19–20; 180/5–6; 200/5–7; 211/14–15; 277/13–16; 279/18–19).

The Continuator of Scylitzes paints an even blacker picture of Michael VII (Scyl. Cont., pp. 157/22–4; 170/5–6; 171/2–10). Psellus, on the other hand, writes him a panegyric. Yet Psellus' laudations are really no more specific than Attaleiates' condemnation (it may be relevant that Michael was Psellus' pupil, and that he

was still emperor when Psellus completed his *Chronographia*): at all events, Michael is characterized as temperate, intelligent, cultured, indifferent to the pleasures of the flesh, and knowledgeable in questions of taxation (Psellus, *Chron.* II, pp. 173–4). Bryennius' attitude to Michael is emphatically negative. Like Attaleiates he stresses the emperor's simple-mindedness, flippancy, stupidity and ignorance, though he does grant him moral probity (Bryen., pp. 145/3, 17; 167/9–17; 215/25; 223/9–10; 253/1, 6). Bryennius also notes a number of more concrete features of Michael's character: cowardice, indecisiveness, and an ungenerous disinclination to reward his generals (pp. 213/9–10; 217/12; 245/27–8).

We see that when Attaleiates constructs his portraits of Botaneiates' predecessors he normally (with certain exceptions) uses the same criteria, the same set of qualities, as he applies to his paradigmatic hero: nobility, bravery, justice, generosity, piety and intelligence. These are the moral categories with which the historian assesses an emperor's behaviour. Only Botaneiates himself is awarded the full range of virtues. For other emperors either the range is incomplete, or else the virtues are replaced with their corresponding vices (e.g. meanness rather than generosity, stupidity instead of intelligence, petty litigiousness rather than justice). Some emperors start as virtuous, but in time their virtues degenerate into vices; or an emperor may be seen to epitomize just one quality, so that he becomes a kind of allegory. But whatever the variations in usage, Attaleiates' ethical ideal is formed from a specific and limited set of qualities.

Attaleiates' imperial ideal includes two elements which are absent both from Hunger's catalogue and from the *Speech* of Justin II: nobility, and military prowess. In Attaleiates' time the notion of nobility of lineage was only just beginning to infiltrate Byzantine social thought; before the eleventh century the Byzantines seem to have attached little importance to noble birth in emperors or in anybody else. Attaleiates' contemporaries may have admired nobility, but Attaleiates is alone in juxtaposing nobility and military prowess. His views contrast sharply with those of Psellus in particular: both historians admire fine lineage, but Psellus rates talent higher than aristocratic provenance, and civic virtues higher than military ones.[19]

[19] Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 208ff.

For other historians, too, military prowess may have been a useful accomplishment, but it was not a necessary ingredient of the imperial ideal, nor was it a quality which could compensate for moral turpitude. Theophanes' hatred of the iconoclast emperors was in no way diminished by their military successes. Historians in the tenth century did treat some emperors primarily as warriors (especially Nicephorus Phocas), but martial pursuits were optional, not essential for the ideal paradigm. They remained optional even for Cecaumenus in the late eleventh century. Certainly Cecaumenus advises the emperor to look after his soldiers, to keep adequate reserves of weapons and supplies, and to equip the fleet properly; he calls the army the glory of the emperor and the strength of the court (Cec., pp. 276/11; 288/21–5; 290/15–18). But in all this Cecaumenus merely echoes the advice of Justin II (as handed down by Theophylact Simocatta, and omitted by Theophanes): look after your troops. This has nothing to do with the emperor's *personal* bravery. Similarly Cecaumenus requires that the emperor should visit the provinces not primarily to defend them, but in order to participate in their administration (p. 296/15–18). Even when Cecaumenus actually includes courage ('ἀνδρεία') in a list of qualities necessary in a sovereign (along with justice, prudence and intelligence – the same list as in Menander), he carefully explains, in the first place, that he means spiritual ('ψυχική') courage, not performance on the battlefield, and in the second place that courage and intelligence are not absolute virtues, but are both open to abuse (p. 288/12–16).

However, a younger contemporary of Cecaumenus – Theophylact, future archbishop of Ohrid – puts military prowess at the top of his list of virtues for a ruler. 'Do not imagine', he warns his young pupil Constantine Ducas, 'that you can make the servants of Ares obey you if they see you decked in gold and purple, rather than in the armour of a general.'[20] In the works of a cultured orator like Theophylact such sentiments may be interpreted partly as deliberate attempts at classical imitation. But it is also surely reasonable to suppose that, for Theophylact as for Attaleiates, the introduction of a military element into the imperial ideal is more than a purely literary device; that it does reflect real social changes.

[20] P. Gautier, *Theophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, traités, poésies* (Thessalonica, 1980), p. 193/21–3).

We might note that it is precisely in the mid eleventh century that we first find coins which portray emperors in military dress.[21]

In Attaleiates' *History* even the traditional elements of the imperial ideal manage to acquire revealingly individual nuances. It is natural that Attaleiates, himself a lawyer as well as an historian, should make frequent use of the terms 'justice' and 'injustice': the *curópalates* Manuel Comnenus punished soliders who had acted 'unjustly'; the deeds of the logothete Nicephoritzes are termed 'political injustices' (Attal., pp. 139/8–9; 184/11). What exactly does Attaleiates intend such terms to mean? From time to time Attaleiates lets slip traditional utterances about the 'common good'; or he condemns excessive concern for personal gain, and 'unjust and abominable' usury (pp. 78/7; 195/19–22; 196/23; 197/2; 237/10–11). Yet the notion of 'common good' is in fact conspicuous in Attaleiates for its rarity; so much so that the Continuator of Scylitzes on several occasions thought it appropriate to insert references to 'τὸ κοινῇ σύμφερον' or 'ἡ κοινῇ λυσιτέλεια' where they are lacking in Attaleiates (Scyl. Cont., pp. 100/16–17; 123/20–1; 126/2–3; 177/10). In a passage on the ancient Romans Attaleiates appears to agree that a concern for the security and prestige of one's country is better than the accumulation of personal wealth (p. 220/11–14), but normally his contrasts between the public and the private refer not to property but to behaviour. At the approach of Leo Tornices the soldiers of Constantine IX fled to Selymbria, pushing past each other as they crowded in at the gates. At the battle of Hierapolis the army of Romanus IV showed cowardice and incompetence: when the Arabs and the Seljuks smashed one division, the remaining troops, rather than come to its rescue, simply sat around at camp, engrossed in their own affairs. In both instances (pp. 22/15–16; 113/4–7) concern for personal safety took precedence over the common good. Conversely, the empress Eudocia may have broken an oath, but she did it in the common cause; and the insurgent Byrennius was blinded in order to protect the public (pp. 100/15–19; 292/6–8).

In matters of behaviour, therefore, Attaleiates considers that one should put the needs of the state above the needs of the individual.

[21] C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (Paris, 1970), p. 618; P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III, 1 (Washington D.C., 1973), p. 126.

But his attitude changes when he deals with matters of property: he is a vigorous defender of private property, and he most emphatically opposes its confiscation by the state. Isaac I wished to increase the state's reserves of land, so he ignored statutory guarantees and simply took what he wanted from private individuals – an act which, according to Attaleiates, earned him widespread condemnation. When Basil Maleses was taken prisoner by Roussel his reward from Michael VII was not sympathy but the confiscation of his lands and, thereby, the ruination of his family. According to Attaleiates Michael himself was to blame for the attempted rebellion by Nestor, for the emperor had accused Nestor of embezzlement, and he appropriated his house for the treasury without even allowing him to answer the charge. By ancient custom wharves and docking facilities which projected into the sea were the property of those who owned the adjacent land; for no good reason Michael VII changed this custom (which was later restored by Nicephorus Botaneiates). By contrast there was an 'unjust' custom (which duly received Nicephorus' disapproval) whereby the servants of a deceased emperor were deprived of their hard-earned property. Michael VII had confiscated the property of those who deserted to Botaneiates, but the generous Botaneiates, when he became emperor, forgave rebels and even enriched them (p. 294/7, reading 'εἰργάσατο' for 'εἰργάσαντο'); he allowed Constantius Ducas to keep both his lands and his wealth (pp. 61/5–8; 70/1; 188/2–5; 192/21; 205/19–206/4; 278/7–279/24; 316/20–1; 318/7; 238/18–19; 294/4–7; 305/7–8).

Attaleiates' attitudes are consistent: he is invariably opposed to state confiscations, and he approves of their cessation under Botaneiates. We may conclude, therefore, that for Attaleiates the imperial virtue of justice (with its associated quality of philanthropy) meant, in social practice, a respect for rights of ownership, and the protection of private property from the depredations of the state. This conclusion does not yet, however, enable us to identify Attaleiates' social 'position'; for, unlike the Continuator of Scylitzes (and to some extent Zonaras and Justin's *Speech*) Attaleiates does *not* assume or imply that to protect private property meant primarily to protect the interests of the *dynatoi*.

Yet this social interpretation of justice and philanthropy may help us to clarify Attaleiates' idea of 'generosity'. G. G. Litavrin has

remarked that Attaleiates seems to have a rather less prudent, less 'sensible' view of generosity than some of his contemporaries, including Psellus and Cecaumenus.[22] And indeed, Psellus makes a point of condemning extravagance: Constantine VIII, and then Romanus III, wasted the vast wealth accumulated by Basil II; Michael IV put a temporary halt to this foolishness, but by then he would have been risking his life had he tried to abolish the gratuitous handouts entirely; strong measures were needed to end wasteful extravagance – though Isaac I was altogether too abrupt in his management of the problem (Psellus, *Chron.* II, pp. 115–18).

But is Psellus' 'extravagance' in fact the same as Attaleiates' 'generosity'? Attaleiates mentions gifts of land and money, and the remission of arrears; in other words, the transfer of state property into private hands. Psellus, however, has in mind a rather different kind of expenditure: he tells, for example, of how emperors would build themselves tombs in expensive marble, and by the tomb a church, and the whole ensemble ringed with gardens; and they would go on to found monasteries for their own commemoration, and endow them with money and property; these emperors squandered the resources of the state on their own pleasures ('εἰς τὰς οἰκείας . . . ἐπιθυμίας'), on useless buildings, and on the maintenance of idle hangers-on; they spent the proceeds of taxation not on the needs of the army, but on political handouts ('εἰς πολιτικὰς χάριτας') and luxurious living (p. 119). So it turns out that Psellus' detested 'extravagance' is *not* the same thing as Attaleiates' beloved 'generosity'. Psellus objects to emperors whose use of public funds is self-indulgent and unproductive. He wants public money to be put to public use, and not wasted on the garish excrescences of imperial vanity. Moreover, in his encomiastic works he actually expresses – albeit in an abstract and generalized form – a highly Attaleiates-like appreciation of imperial generosity: he praises Constantine IX for opening up seams of gold; from the springs of Constantine's imperial coffers great rivers of gifts flowed forth to his people – like the rivers that flow forth from the garden of Eden, rivers as full as the Atlantic ocean; Constantine is to be commended for the favours ('χάριτας'!) which he granted to his subjects, and for his unstinting generosity ('τὸ ἄφθονον', one of

[22] See Litavrin's introduction to Cec., pp. 77, 81.

Attaleiates' pet phrases); this torrent of wealth, says Psellus, was a veritable Pactolus, the ancient gold-bearing river and the traditional symbol of generosity.[23]

How does one explain Psellus' apparent inconsistency? Is it due to the change of genre? Is he referring to different forms of expenditure? Did he change his views? Or does it merely reflect the fickleness of a politician who unblinkingly turns yesterday's scorn into today's fulsome admiration? The answers to these questions are beyond our present scope, but one point, at least, is clear: that on the subject of imperial generosity there is no simple and clear contrast between Psellus and Attaleiates. Litavrin's remarks are perhaps premature.

To recap: although Attaleiates uses traditional literary phraseology, and although his terms are common among Byzantine writers, he nevertheless injects into the concepts of imperial 'justice' and 'generosity' a specific social meaning: justice is, above all, the protection of private property; and generosity is the means by which the state limits its own share of surplus produce and redistributes it into private hands. Attaleiates' scale of imperial virtues is thus taken to imply a particular type of social policy.

In whose interests is this policy proposed? Can the opinions of Attaleiates be said to represent the position of any particular social group? It would be tempting to assume that Attaleiates voices the concerns of the nobility; yet it is precisely in order to highlight the interests of the nobility that the Continuator of Scylitzes *alters* the text of Attaleiates; and Attaleiates' idea of generosity is condemned by the aristocrat Bryennius. If we cannot safely assume that Attaleiates' scale of values reflects those of the *dynatoi*, then in order to make some headway we must examine the historian's attitudes towards other sections of Byzantine society.

According to Litavrin, the 'familiar environment' of Attaleiates was that of 'the court, the capital, the senate and the higher echelons of the bureaucracy'.[24] Attaleiates' *History* does seem to support this statement with regard to the senate, for it contains some thirty references to the senate and senators.[25] Is such attention to the senate normal for a Byzantine historian of the period, or is it peculiar to Attaleiates?

[23] Sathas, *MB*, v, pp. 108/15–17, 110/6–7, 136/31–137/5.

[24] Litavrin in Cec., p. 78.

[25] See A. A. Christophilopoulou, *Hē synklētos eis to Byzantinon kratos* (Athens, 1949), p. 140.

Attaleiates was not, of course, unique in this respect: one would hardly claim that he was more at home in senatorial circles than was, say, Psellus. Yet a comparison between Attaleiates and his editor, the Continuator of Scylitzes, does yield some surprising results. Litavrin considers that the Continuator, like Cecaumenus, expresses the 'hopes and aspirations' of the provincial military aristocracy. This may be so; indeed, our earlier observations would tend to confirm Litavrin's hypothesis. But we would then expect Attaleiates and the Continuator to differ in their attitudes towards the senate. Such, according to Litavrin, is the case: 'it is clear that the Continuator and Cecaumenus viewed the senate from outside, while Psellus, Scylitzes himself, and Attaleiates experienced it from within, and were closely associated with it. Cecaumenus mentions senators only once . . . and the Continuator is also fairly indifferent towards it.'[26] Litavrin justifies his assertion with three references to the text of the Continuator. In fact, however, the Continuator is less 'indifferent' towards the senate than he is made to appear, for besides Litavrin's three references there are at least eight more.[27] Litavrin objects that these further references are 'purely formal', and do not indicate the author's involvement or interest.[28] Maybe so. But the presence of nearly a dozen references to the senate in so brief a chronicle (eighty-four pages in Tsolakes' edition) does surely indicate that its author was at least 'familiar' with the institution. Let us see whether there is any real difference here between Attaleiates and his editor. This we can do by comparing the references to the senate in the work of each author.[29]

A. References only in Attaleiates

1 Romanus Diogenes is committed for trial before the leading members of the senate (p. 98/13). The Continuator abbreviates the account of the trial, omitting this episode.
2 Romanus IV receives a Turkish defector with a ceremonial

[26] Litavrin in Cec., p. 71.
[27] See A. P. Kazhdan, 'K voprosu o sotsial'nykh vozzreniyakh Kekavmena', *VV*, XXXVI (1974), p. 161.
[28] Litavrin, 'Otvet retsenzentu', p. 172.
[29] The Continuator's use of Attaleiates – and hence our material for comparison – starts at the reign of Isaac I.

gathering of senators in the throne-room of the imperial palace. Attaleiates' account is perhaps tinged with irony (the defector so grandly received is 'small and ugly' – p. 142/11–19), and the Continuator's failure to mention the senate might be construed as a deliberate attempt to preserve its image of dignity.

3 After the defeat at Manzikert Attaleiates personally meets some of the leading senators (p. 167/8–10). The Continuator omits this episode, along with all other biographical data on Attaleiates.

4 Michael VII makes a speech to citizens and senators (p. 186/21ff.). The Continuator omits this, just as he omits most other speeches.

5 Michael VII informs the senior senators (the *gerousia*) of Roussel's defeat by the Turks (p. 192/5–6). The Continuator makes substantial cuts in Attaleiates' narrative about Roussel, and this passage disappears in the process.

6 The senate attends Michael VII at Blachernae while the citizens proclaim Botaneiates emperor in St Sophia (p. 256/9–17).

7 Botaneiates generously rewards members of the senate (p. 275/12–19).

8 Botaneiates calls Bryennius an enemy of the senate (p. 293/15).

9 Botaneiates is proclaimed emperor by the senate, synod and people (p. 298/1–2).

10 Botaneiates offers the daughters of the empress Eudocia in marriage to leading senators (p. 304/16–17).

11 Hearing of the revolt of Constantius Ducas, the *gerousia* and selected other senators swear loyalty to Botaneiates (p. 308/5–9).

12 The senate unanimously approves a law (p. 314/19–20).

13 The senate and the townspeople approve another law (p. 318/12–14).

14 On feast-days it is Botaneiates' custom to attend morning service with his counsellors and the senators (p. 318/21).

B. References in both texts

1 Constantine X rewards 'many people of the market-place and members of the senate'. The Continuator reverses the order:

'many from the senate and the people' (Attal., p. 71/12–13; Scyl. Cont., p. 111/15). See also below, p. 143.

2 The Uzes receive senatorial titles (Attal., p. 87/18–22; Scyl. Cont., p. 116/7–8).

3 The *gerousia* sympathizes with Romanus Diogenes (Attal., p. 99/16; Scyl. Cont., p. 122/19).

4 According to Attaleiates, members of the senate confer with Eudocia, widow of Constantine X, and the patriarch John Xiphilinus about how best to avert the Turkish threat, and it is suggested that Romanus Diogenes should become emperor (p. 101/3–4). The Continuator gives a slightly different version of events: Eudocia is frightened of the senate and the patriarch; Xiphilinus decides that she should marry his brother Bardas, and to this end he sets about cajoling and bribing the senate (p. 123).

5 Romanus rewards the senators (Attal., p. 122/14–16; Scyl. Cont., p. 133/19–20).

6 Romanus distributes the annual honorarium to the senior senators – or, according to the Continuator, to 'the army and the senate' (Attal., p. 143/5–7; Scyl. Cont., p. 142/5–6).

7 On the accession of Michael VII he and the caesar John pay their first respects to members of the senate (Attal., p. 169/16–17). The Continuator does not actually mention this episode, but he does say that Michael owed his accession to the intervention of John and the senate (Scyl. Cont., p. 152/17).

8 The senate proclaims Botaneiates emperor (Attal., p. 270/5; Scyl. Cont., p. 178/3).

C. References only in the Continuator of Scylitzes

1 Constantine X addresses the senate and the people (p. 111/11–12).

2 The future patriarch Cosmas, a man much admired by the chronicler, belongs neither to the senate nor to the clergy (p. 176/7–14).

3 Botaneiates is proclaimed emperor by a select band of Anatolian magnates and leading senators (p. 172/1–3).

4 Botaneiates is offered the daughters of senators in marriage (p. 181/23–6).

5 The favouritism with which Botaneiates elevates Boril and Germanus becomes irksome to leading senators (p. 186/2–3).

The evidence shows that one cannot draw any great distinction between Attaleiates and the Continuator as regards their attitudes to the senate. Each historian is duly attentive both to the formal, ceremonial functions of the senate, and to its relations with the emperor. There seems to be little justification for the claim that the Continuator is more 'indifferent' to the senate than Attaleiates. The Continuator may mention the bribery of senators by John Xiphilinus, but he also shares the senate's indignation at Botaneiates' favouritism. He does omit most of the episodes in Attaleiates which illustrate the touching harmony between the senate and Botaneiates, but this is not in order to belittle the senate, but because he does not share Attaleiates' enthusiasm for the emperor. Indeed, when the Continuator omits to mention that the senate, too, participated in receiving the Turkish defector, or that the senate enjoyed good relations with Michael VII, his intention may even be to 'rehabilitate' the institution, to commit its more embarrassing mistakes to tactful oblivion.

In short, Attaleiates and the Continuator of Scylitzes have an equally high regard for the senate. The Continuator may sympathize with the military aristocracy in the provinces, but we cannot say that Attaleiates, by *contrast* with the Continuator, 'expresses the interests of the senate'.

There is no more fervent supporter of the military aristocracy than Bryennius, yet even he cannot be accused of indifference towards the senate and senators in public life, both under Michael VII and under Botaneiates (Bryen., pp. 129/7; 211/16–213/2; 239/19–23; 243/19; 245/5; 247/8–9; 257/13–16). Only under Alexius I Comnenus does the senate begin to take second place to the 'extended' imperial family. In the eleventh century, therefore, the senate was still generally recognized as a leading institution of imperial government. It was accepted as part of the system, and, like the emperor, could not simply be ignored. Just as the idea of monarchy was an integral part of Byzantine political thought – one might criticize a monarch, but not the principle of monarchy – so, *mutatis mutandis,* was the senate in the eleventh century. The senate was not an optional extra, to be argued for or against; it was a fact

of life, and its absence in the Empire of the Rhomaioi was unimaginable.[30] Even Cecaumenus, who mentions senators only once, speaks with respect and concern: there should be no cuts in the annual payment either of soldiers or of senators (Cec., p. 284/17–18).

We must conclude that the social attitudes of eleventh-century Byzantine writers cannot be classified according to their treatment of the senate. We therefore have to find other criteria by which to clarify the social sympathies and antipathies of Attaleiates.

Attaleiates distinguishes two groups of people in the entourage of his hero Nicephorus III. The first group consists of the emperor's 'closest associates' ('οἰκειότατοι καὶ ἐγγύτατοι'), who are defined not socially or functionally, but ethically: they surpass all others in knowledge and intelligence ('γνώσει καὶ λόγῳ'), they are unassuming, friendly to everybody, and totally without conceit. The second group is composed of soliders, physically strong and with military training (Attal., p. 321/13–18). The 'close associates' may be clearly identified from the context as belonging to the civilian nobility. And despite his praise of valour as a vital component in the imperial ideal, Attaleiates esteems these 'close associates' more highly than the soldiers, and he is generally more interested in the civilian nobility than in the military. Summing up the defeat at Manzikert, the historian draws particular attention to the fate of three people, two of whom died, and one of whom was captured. All three (so far as one can judge by their offices and family connections) belonged to the civilian nobility: Leo the 'master of petitions', a man of eminent knowledge and intelligence (the same formula with which Attaleiates labels the 'close associates' collectively); the *magister* and *protasecretis* Eustratius Choerosphactes; and the *protosvestes* (for *protovestes*? cf. *protovestiarios* in the Continuator) Basil Maleses, a man who was singularly favoured by the emperor, surpassed many in his learning ('λόγῳ'), and apparently held the strange post of 'logothete of the waters' (p. 167/11–17). Attaleiates names not one military commander, though we may assume that many of them suffered no less than these civilians. Later Attaleiates mentions in passing, but not by name, the *dux* of Theodosioupolis who was

[30] On the political activity of the senate in the eleventh century see H. G. Beck, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1966), p. 56.

captured at Manzikert (p. 168/9–10). What can be the reason for Attaleiates' lopsided choice? It is probable that he knew these three unfortunate civilians personally, perhaps closely. Elsewhere he expresses deep sympathy for the men who serve their emperor constantly, day and night, come heat or cold, and who, in addition to their onerous labour, live in constant fear of their imperial master (pp. 316/12–15; 317/19–20). Who are these devoted and suffering servants? Let us examine Attaleiates' attitudes to individual members of the civilian nobility, and compare the attitudes of the Continuator.

Attaleiates is unequivocal and unstinting in his praise for two imperial favourites, Leo Paraspondylus and John of Side. Leo was a man of sense and experience, who contributed much to the establishment of order and the rule of law (p. 52/1–8). Psellus is more restrained in his judgement of Leo, despite having himself interceded with the emperor and patriarch on Leo's behalf.[31]

John, metropolitan of Side, is described as a man distinguished both for his learning and for his practical abilities ('λόγῳ καὶ πράξει'); of pleasant character, virtuous and kind to all. Although a eunuch, he was kind, public-spirited, affectionate, sensitive and responsive; balancing the emperor's (Michael VII's) weaknesses with his own virtues, he made the ruler palatable to his subjects (pp. 180/7–16; 182/13). The Continuator also gushes admiration, but he concentrates less on John's moral character, and more on his practical abilities: his energy and adroitness, his administrative skill and enthusiasm (Scyl. Cont., p. 155/9–13). John of Side was to become a major figure in the government of Nicephorus III (Zon. III, p. 725/3–4), and this fact alone might seem sufficient to explain why Attaleiates holds him in such high esteem. Yet there is no equivalent explanation for the historian's favourable treatment of Leo Paraspondylus. The likelihood is that Attaleiates was well disposed towards imperial servants in general.

Of course Attaleiates mentions some imperial servants neutrally, as it were, without elaboration or indication of their characters: such are the nephews of the patriarch Michael Cerularius, who were appointed to high office by Isaac I (in the civil administration,

[31] See Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 90–7.

as we learn from other sources);[32] and such is Proteuon (in fact a name, despite 'πρωτεύοντα' in the printed edition), whom Constantine IX had intended to nominate as his successor (Attal., pp. 57/8; 60/10; 51/14–15; cf. Scyl. Cont., p. 103/9–10).

We have already discussed Leo the 'master of petitions'[33] and the *protasecretis* Eustratius Choerosphactes, who perished at Manzikert. The Continuator records their deaths, but omits Attaleiates' eulogies of them (Scyl. Cont., p. 152/1–2).

Attaleiates has more to say about Basil Maleses, whom we last saw being captured at Manzikert: Basil returned from his captivity, and soon afterwards the caesar John made him a 'close associate' on account of his outstanding knowledge and intelligence ('φρονήσεως τε καὶ γνώσεως' – the Bonn ed. p. 187/17–18, omits the particle). The Continuator once more retains only the facts, not the commendation (Scyl. Cont., p. 158/25–6). Furthermore, only Attaleiates informs us that the knowledge and abilities of Maleses were greatly valued by Roussel, who used him as his 'arm and tongue' in political affairs: it was Maleses who dissuaded Roussel from making peace with Michael VII; many considered that he acted thus out of hatred for the emperor, but, says Attaleiates, 'my friend' swore that this was not so (p. 187/18–188/10). After Roussel's defeat by the Turks Maleses again fell into the hands of Michael VII; he tried to persuade the emperor to ransom Roussel and John Ducas, but Michael ignored his advice, exiled him and confiscated his property – for the second time (p. 192/13–21). The Continuator notes briefly that Maleses was exiled and stripped of his possessions, but gives no further details (Scyl. Cont., p. 160/10–13).

The grand hetaireiarch Straboromanus (Attaleiates refers to him simply as Romanus) was, we are told, one of the most devoted servants of Nicephorus III: good at speaking, good at listening, and skilled in diplomatic negotiation. Again the Continuator mentions the man, but not his qualities (Attal., p. 286/10–12; Scyl. Cont., p. 179/19–20, but cf. also p. 186/12–19).

Another man who may have been involved in civil administration is the Antiochian Peter Libellisius. Attaleiates (who mistakenly

[32] Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 62–9.

[33] On Leo on other sources, and on the problem of his identification, see R. Guilland, 'Le Maître des Requêtes', *Byz.*, xxxv (1965), p. 103.

calls him 'Libellius') praises his erudition both in Byzantine and in Arab learning. The Continuator pays him a more restrained tribute (Attal., p. 110/20–3; Scyl. Cont., p. 129/6–8).

By contrast, Attaleiates is uncompromisingly hostile to the logothete Nicephoritzes, and he vilifies him at some length in a passage which the Continuator preserves (Attal., pp. 180/19–183/3; Scyl. Cont., pp. 155/14–156/19): Nicephoritzes was a schemer and a slanderer; Michael VII was taken in by his disgusting charm, and his elevation to high office was a disaster for Byzantium. The list of his crimes is long: false accusations and unjustified harassment of the innocent; judgements passed in the interests of the treasury rather than of justice; total and partial confiscations; constant litigation and petty persecution. Of the multitude of further complaints against Nicephoritzes scattered throughout Attaleiates' *History* (and preserved in part by the Continuator), we shall dwell only on one substantial passage (Attal., pp. 200/12–201/19; cf. Scyl. Cont., p. 162/2–7). According to Attaleiates Michael VII allowed Nicephoritzes to do anything he liked. The logothete claimed that the emperor's own family had designs on the throne, and thus he turned the emperor against his kin. He distributed titles and *pronoiai* – for the right price. He was diabolically rapacious, with a passion for the acquisition of property. The Continuator is silent on all these points, but he joins in with what follows: the logothete obtained the Hebdomus monastery as a gift ('κατὰ δωρεάν'); he then wheedled out of the emperor lands and generous donations ('ἀφθόνους', *E*; 'ἀφθόρους', ed.), and so gained possession of huge wealth, using the monastery as cover. Attaleiates – but not the Continuator – adds that Nicephoritzes bribed his way into the ownership of private property ('ἰδικῶν', *E*; 'εἰδικῶν', ed.) and vast estates, and that to excuse his relentless acquisitiveness he would plead necessity, or the fickleness of fate.

Nor does Attaleiates spare the associates of Nicephoritzes. One such associate was Michael of Nicomedia ('Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Νικομηδέος', *E* & *P*; 'Νικομήδου', ed.), who had helped the eunuch to smear the good name of the *augusta* Eudocia (p. 181/3–4). This is a difficult passage to construe. G. Weiss interprets it to mean that the logothete slandered Eudocia out of jealousy for Michael of Nicomedia (taking 'φθόνῳ' causally, and the dependent 'τοῦ

συνεξυπηρετουμένου καὶ συνδιεργοῦντος αὐτῷ' as a subjective genitive).[34] This seems forced, both linguistically and historically. To slander Eudocia was surely too serious a venture to be risked merely to spite a fellow-bureaucrat. Rather we should take 'ἐξυπηρετέω' in the primary sense given by Liddell and Scott, as 'to assist to the utmost', shift the comma from before 'τῆς' to before 'φθόνῳ', and translate approximately thus: (Nicephoritzes) was banished from the emperor's close circle on account of the intrigues (lit. the jealousy) of Michael of Nicomedia, who had served together with him and had conspired with him (in the slander against the empress?). So, Michael of Nicomedia was a colleague of Nicephoritzes under Constantine X. This was before Nicephoritzes was sent to be governor of Antioch and (under Romanus IV) Hellas and the Peloponnese.

Attaleiates mentions Michael once more, when he (Michael) dies: he is described as a monk, *hypertimos*, a native of Nicomedia, a former head of the civil administration (evidently after the flight of Nicephoritzes), arrogant, hard to please, and critical of Botaneiates' generosity (pp. 296/20–297/1). The Continuator omits both these passages.

Another of Nicephoritzes' cronies was the grand hetaireiarch David, who, on orders from the logothete, dragged the archpriest from the altar in St Sophia. The Continuator says nothing of David's violent behaviour (Attal., p. 271/13–17; cf. Scyl. Cont., p. 178/20–1).

Clearly the Continuator is somewhat cooler than Attaleiates towards the civilian nobility. He normally omits or curtails Attaleiates' laudatory digressions, and in the case of Straboromanus he even introduces a note of criticism. True, he also omits Attaleiates' uncomplimentary remarks on Michael of Nicomedia and on David, but he is no less hostile than his source towards Nicephoritzes himself. And on the occasions when the Continuator passes his own judgements on Constantinople's ruling élite, his comments are negative. Only he, for example, mentions the activities of Boril and Germanus, close associates of Botaneiates: he claims that through their capricious handling of the administration they made Botaneiates' rule unnecessarily burdensome for the senators (pp. 185/30–186/2). Still more revealing are the Con-

[34] Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte*, p. 209, n. 316.

tinuator's sharp criticisms of Psellus, whom he considers to have been a poor adviser to Romanus IV, and the man responsible for the wrong-headed policies of Michael VII (pp. 141/15–16; 152/22–4; 156/7–8; 171/6–10).

Every representative of the civilian nobility mentioned by the Continuator is treated with hostility or, at the very least, with indifference.

Attaleiates' position is different. Some of these dignitaries he values highly, while others (Nicephoritzes and his circle) he bitterly resents. Can we determine the social distinction – if any – between the objects of his praise and the objects of his condemnation? Does Attaleiates reserve his admiration for some identifiable sub-group within the civilian nobility? We possess only very limited biographical information. For many of the people involved we know only what Attaleiates himself tells us. Yet we can still pick up a few helpful hints. In the first place, the historian is consistently respectful towards those 'close associates' who administered the policies of Nicephorus III. These officials are alluded to, but not named; and Attaleiates chooses to maintain a tactful silence concerning the unpopular Boril and Germanus. Secondly, he pays special attention to those families in the civilian nobility which tended also to produce military leaders: the families of Maleses, Proteuon, Choerosphactes and Cerularius (the latter also had ties with the military aristocracy.[35] The Straboromani spanned both the civilian and the military nobility: two of them – Romanus in Attaleiates, and Manuel (a contemporary of Alexius I) – had held the quasi-military post of grand hetaireiarch, and in the twelfth century the family produced a *dux* of Crete and a military engineer.[36] Attaleiates more or less ignores the 'purely' civilian aristocracy, such as the Servliae or the Zonarae.

Before proceeding further we must deal with a possible serious objection to this hypothesis: it is widely believed that Michael of Nicomedia was in fact Michael Psellus. The most recent and elaborate arguments in favour of fusing the two Michaels[37] are

[35] See Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav*, pp. 135–6, 162, 211.

[36] See P. Gautier, 'Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexis Ier Comnène, Manuel Straboromanus', *REB*, XXIII (1965), pp. 169–72.

[37] P. Gautier, 'Monodie inédite de Michel Psellos sur le basileus Andronic Ducas', *REB*, XXIV (1966), pp. 159–64.

founded on a series of three coincidences: both characters are called Michael, both are monks, and both are *hypertimoi*; since we know of no other eleventh-century monk who was also a *hypertimos*, Michael of Nicomedia and Michael Psellus, it is argued, must be one and the same person. Yet on closer inspection these coincidences are, we would maintain, too flimsy to support such a firm prosopographical reconstruction. In the first place, monks called Michael were hardly rare in Byzantium. And in the second place, the available biographical data on the two Michaels cannot easily be dovetailed to fit a single person. Psellus grew up in Constantinople. If Attaleiates' phrase 'τὸ γένος ἕλκων ἐκ Νικομηδείας' is to apply to Psellus, then it can refer only to his relatives or ancestors (of whom we know nothing). Yet elsewhere Attaleiates calls Michael himself 'Nicomedian'. Moreover, Michael of Nicomedia died in 1078, while Michael Psellus (from the evidence of his introduction to the *Dioptra* of Philip Monotropus) was still alive in 1097. It has been suggested that this introduction, like certain other works, was attributed to Psellus falsely, in the thirteenth century.[38] But there are other grounds for believing that Psellus died at least no earlier than 1081. One of his speeches is addressed to Alexius Comnenus. Its contents are wholly inappropriate to an earlier reign (Romanus IV has been proposed as a possible recipient): in it Psellus speaks of Constantinople having just risen from its knees;[39] a similar statement is to be found in Psellus' letter 'to the emperor Comnenus' (usually identified as Isaac I) – 'the empire of the Romans was laid low, but you have raised it up and have restored to it its former beauty and grandeur. You have driven off the barbarian from his ubiquitous incursions, and you have vanquished the enemy who seemed invincible.'[40] This could scarcely have been said of the Pechenegs defeated by Isaac I, but it well fits the situation under Alexius I, as does the claim that the emperor achieved his victory less by force than by cunning, by sowing discord among the enemy. Further evidence for Psellus' survival into the 1080s comes from his contradictory utterances on Isaac I: in his *Chronographia* he is severely critical of Isaac, but in his encomium on his friend Constantine Leichoudes (written after 1075) he launches into a gushingly laudatory digression about Isaac.

[38] J. Darrouzès, 'Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes', *REB*, XXXII (1974), pp. 199–210.
[39] Sathas, *MB*, v, pp. 228/20, 229/5–6.
[40] Sathas, *MB*, v, pp. 300–2.

A plausible explanation is that this panegyric was written after the accession of Alexius.[41]

If a number of Psellus' works can be dated, even provisionally, after 1081, then we cannot accept as fact the idea that their author died with Michael of Nicomedia in 1078.

Michael of Nicomedia worked closely with Nicephoritzes; Psellus corresponded with Nicephoritzes,[42] but the two were never particularly close, and Nicephoritzes is not even mentioned in the *Chronographia*. And finally, there is no evidence whatever that Michael Psellus, like Michael of Nicomedia, ran the civil administration at the start of the reign of Nicephorus III.

Those who would fuse the two Michaels should note that Attaleiates, the contemporary of both, seems to distinguish between them: for Attaleiates does, in fact, allude to Michael Psellus *expressis verbis* (though not by name), and with none of the hostility which he shows for Michael of Nicomedia. The '*proedros* of the philosophers' under Constantine X 'surpassed all our contemporaries in knowledge' (p. 21/19–20). The '*proedros* of the philosophers' is, of course, Psellus. For Attaleiates, Psellus is primarily a scholar, whereas Michael of Nicomedia is primarily a political schemer. And the Continuator of Scylitzes, who is far from reticent in his dislike of Psellus, omits both of Attaleiates' references to Michael of Nicomedia. Evidently he also saw a distinction.

We conclude that Michael of Nicomedia was *not* Michael Psellus. We can therefore continue to develop the hypothesis formulated before this prosopographical interlude.

Among all the civilian nobility Attaleiates consistently singles out for criticism the circle of Nicephoritzes. What is the nature of this criticism? Does it stem merely from a personal aversion, on Attaleiates' behalf, towards Michael VII's powerful protégé – an aversion perhaps engendered by Nicephoritzes' decision to establish a state monopoly on grain at Rhaedestus, where Attaleiates owned estates? The personal motive cannot easily be discounted. But at the same time Attaleiates' quarrel with Nicephoritzes cannot be reduced entirely to a clash of individuals. The criticism is too broad, too systematic. Attaleiates sees Nicephoritzes as the main

[41] See Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 34, 255–6.

[42] Lyubarsky, *Psell*, p. 107.

architect of a policy, and it is his hostility to the policy which triggers his hostility to the man: the policy is one of unchecked fiscalism, to be contrasted with the 'generosity' of Botaneiates.

The Continuator shares Attaleiates' general dislike of Nicephoritzes, but he adds one interesting detail which rather softens the impact of Attaleiates' verbal assault: he inserts the story of how Straboromanus tortured the imprisoned former logothete to death; this, says the Continuator, was done on the instructions not of Botaneiates, but of his counsellors, who knew that if Nicephoritzes were to succeed in gaining audience with the emperor he would again be promoted to high office, on account of his great practical skill and experience ('ὡς πολύπειρος', p. 186/7–9).

The Continuator is not the only historian who perceives in Nicephoritzes an administrator of rare ability. Bryennius views the man with obvious distaste, but grudgingly concedes that he was extremely efficient at his job. This uncomfortable mixture of loathing and respect can be sensed whenever Bryennius speaks of Nicephoritzes: he describes him as energetic and efficient, a man of knowledge and experience, yet devious, and able to stir up as much trouble as, it is said, Pericles did for the Greeks; he induced the easily-swayed emperor to neglect and ignore the caesar John Ducas, of whose activities he (Nicephoritzes) disapproved; he tried to have John Bryennius murdered; he denied military commanders their just rewards; but at the same time he admired Nicephorus Bryennius, and even contemplated fleeing to him after Michael VII was deposed (his plans were thwarted when he was handed over to Botaneiates and cruelly tortured). As we see, Bryennius judges Nicephoritzes less harshly than does Attaleiates. He views with aristocratic contempt the spectacle of a eunuch toying with the generals of the empire, but he admits that the logothete knew his job, and concedes that a tactical alliance between him and the Bryennii would have been possible (Bryen., pp. 143/15–145/5; 167/10; 211/11–13; 217/13–219/1; 255/18–25).

Cecaumenus, on the other hand, regards Nicephoritzes with unabashed enthusiasm: an outstandingly brilliant man, experienced both in military and in civil administration, good both at speaking and at understanding (Cec., p. 266/23–7). This description is essentially the same as that provided by Bryennius, except that the logothete's practical qualities do not blind Bryennius to the

anti-aristocratic effects of his policies. Litavrin, however, maintains that Cecaumenus' praise is insincere.[43] Litavrin's suspicions are based on the assumption that Cecaumenus wrote while Nicephoritzes and his patron Michael VII were still alive, and that Cecaumenus' opinions as expressed elsewhere are not compatible with this eulogistic appraisal of Nicephoritzes. Yet these assertions are dubious, and it is probably better to accept Cecaumenus' character-sketch of the logothete at face-value. In the first place, Litavrin himself allows for the possibility that Cecaumenus wrote after the logothete was already dead.[44] And in the second place, is there really any contradiction between his characterization of Nicephoritzes and his other political views? Cecaumenus is not happy with the 'family politics' of contemporary emperors (p. 286/5–6) and, as Attaleiates points out, such political trends were also opposed by Nicephoritzes. When Cecaumenus speaks of imperial 'generosity' he limits its appropriate beneficiaries (unlike Attaleiates) to men of special merit. He recalls how Constantine IX ruined the empire with his wasteful extravagance. He opposes tax concessions, whereas for Attaleiates the only true freedom is fredom from the fear of debt (pp. 276/23–4; 278/1; 288/1–2; 292/23; cf. Attal., p. 284/6–9 and our observations above). Cecaumenus' political *desiderata* are perfectly in line with the principles of fiscalism for which Attaleiates so detested Nicephoritzes. And finally, one might say that Cecaumenus' whole outlook is imbued with a feeling of life's instability – a feeling which Nicephoritzes professed to share, much to the irritation of Attaleiates. Thus there is little reason to believe that Cecaumenus' enthusiasm for the logothete is feigned.

Having examined Attaleiates' attitudes to individual members of the civilian nobility, we find that these attitudes vary according to the inclinations and allegiances of the individuals in question: Attaleiates warmly supports the clique of imperial servants led by John of Side; he maintains an interest in those sections of the Constantinopolitan nobility which incline towards military service; he shows no interest whatsoever in the 'purely' civilian aristocracy; and he is bitterly critical of all who implement a policy

[43] Litavrin in Cec., pp. 68, 553ff.

[44] Litavrin in Cec., p. 110.

of fiscalism. Such subtle distribution of loyalty among the various sub-groups in the administration is, as Weiss has observed, characteristic of Byzantine political life in the eleventh century.[45] This being the case, can one still speak of Attaleiates as one who expresses the interests of the senate?

By position, family ties and personal connections Attaleiates was, to be sure, one of the bureaucratic élite. He was perhaps a native of Constantinople.[46] He served in the judiciary, and was honoured with the titles of *magister* and *proedros*. He owned property in and around Constantinople and Rhaedestus. His son Theodore also entered the legal profession,[47] and an eleventh-century seal preserves the name of a judge Nicholas Attaleiates.[48] Other relatives known from seals, and who also probably served in the bureaucracy, include the *protospatharios* George,[49] the *anthypatos* Michael (if he is not the historian himself),[50] and Manuel.[51] More enigmatic is the figure of John Attaleiates, pupil of Theophylact of Bulgaria, and sometime servant to the *dux* (?) of Attaleia.[52] The historian's wife came from a similar background, with *protospatharioi, asecretis* and Constantinopolitan landowners among her relatives.[53] And yet Attaleiates, like Psellus, was a parvenu. As he states in the charter of a monastery which he founded: 'starting from modest beginnings, an outsider, I became a senator and a prominent counsellor'.[54] So, Attaleiates was certainly a member of the senate, but was he also an apologist and ideologue of the senate?

To complicate matters further, we have no clear point of comparison, no eleventh-century text which does express unequivocally the general views and common interests (to the extent that such existed) of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy. Psellus might spring to mind as an appropriate model, but he is too great an

[45] Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte*, pp. 90–105.

[46] E. Th. Tsolakes, 'Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates', *BZ*, LVIII (1965), pp. 5–7; but cf. Litavrin, 'Otvet retsenzentu', p. 172; P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), p. 76, n. 8; P. Gautier, 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate', *REB*, XXXIX (1981), p. 12.

[47] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', p. 73/921–2.

[48] B. A. Panchenko, 'Katalog molivdovulov', *IRAIK*, XIII (1908), p. 121, no. 418.

[49] G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), pp. 245–6, no. 83; cf. K. M. Konstantopoulos, *Byzantiaka molybdoboulla* (Athens, 1917), no. 519.

[50] G. Schlumberger, *La sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), p. 438.

[51] V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Athens, 1932), no. 341.

[52] *PG*, CXXVI, col. 465C.

[53] W. Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077* (Jena, 1894), pp. 28–9.

[54] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', p. 21/43–5.

artist and too broad a thinker to be bound by the opinions of any one social group. Another possible candidate for the role is Cecaumenus. One cannot, of course, deny major differences between Psellus and Cecaumenus, both in their general outlook and in their treatment of particular questions, but they nevertheless agree on certain fundamental issues: neither is overimpressed by nobility of birth; both approve of the policies of Michael VII; both support 'moderate' fiscalism. On each of these issues they are on common ground, and stand together in opposition to Attaleiates.

In the early twelfth century we find one writer who does present clearly and consistently the preoccupations of the capital's élite: the chronicler and canonist John Zonaras. Zonaras' *Chronicle* is basically a compilation, and its main sources for the eleventh century are Scylitzes, his Continuator, and Psellus. Yet Zonaras also inserted material and opinions of his own. The following remarks refer to these independent sections of his work.

Zonaras ends his narrative with an account of the reign of Alexius I Comnenus. But unlike Attaleiates he does not conclude with a paradigm of imperial virtue. Zonaras does not regard Alexius – or any other emperor – as an ideal. Certainly he concedes that Alexius had many fine qualities: he was not arrogant or pompous, not ruled by anger, not greedy for money; he was charitable, accessible, not vengeful, neither glutton nor drunkard. But, continues the chronicler, these are virtues which may, and should, be displayed by all men, the simple virtues of moderation, prudence and righteousness. An emperor should have additional qualities. He should have a deep love of justice; he should show active concern for his subjects; he should cherish and preserve the ancient laws of the state. Alexius had no respect for established customs, but tried to introduce sweeping changes; he had no sense of public responsibility, and he behaved not like a guardian or steward ('οἰκονόμος') but like a master ('δεσπότης'), as if the empire were his household property ('οἶκος οἰκεῖος'; see Zon. III, pp. 247/3–9; 265/7–267/19).

What Zonaras seems to be opposing is a kind of 'seignorial' or patrimonial principle of imperial authority.[55] This principle is, for Zonaras, exemplified in the system of payments made by Alexius

[55] cf. above, n. 11, on Val'denberg's description of the *Speech* of Justin II.

to his relatives and servants: 'to his relatives and to certain of his servants Alexius would distribute whole wagon-loads of public money ('τὰ δημόσια χρήματα'). He provided them with annual hand-outs, with the result that they accumulated great wealth, surrounded themselves with entourages more suited to emperors than to private citizens, and received properties as large as cities and as luxurious as those of the emperor himself' (p. 767/2–8).

Zonaras extends his criticisms into the past: he censures the relatives of Michael IV, and also the barbarians and foreigners who enjoyed the patronage of Constantine VIII (pp. 604/16–605/2; 569/14–17). In both cases he is in agreement with Cecaumenus, and at odds with Attaleiates: Attaleiates objects to the harsh treatment meted out by Nicephoritzes to the relatives of Michael VII, and (as we shall see later) he very much appreciated the foreigners who served the empire.

Of the military aristocracy Zonaras takes a similarly jaundiced view. He derides, for example, the self-serving generals of Basil II: these generals practically sabotaged their emperor's war-effort, just because they believed that their own authority might be diminished if the emperor were to grow too confident of easy success (pp. 548/17–549/3). Nor is Zonaras above tampering with his sources in order to make his point: according to Scylitzes, Michael VI praised Catacalon Cecaumenus as a credit to his rank; Zonaras, by transferring to Catacalon a phrase which had actually (in Psellus' version) been addressed to Isaac Comnenus, assures us that Michael in fact castigated his general for maladministration (Zon. III, pp. 654/16–655/5; cf. Scyl., p. 483/13–17; Psellus, *Chron.* II, p. 84 iii/11–18). In the same way, where the Continuator mentions that Isaac minted a coin with a depiction of the emperor bearing a sword, Zonaras adds that Isaac interpreted the sword as a symbol of his own rule (Zon. III, p. 666/2–3; Scyl. Cont., p. 103/3–4). Zonaras contradicts Psellus (without naming him) by denying the antiquity of the Ducae. In his treatment of Constantine X, Romanus IV and Michael VII he mainly follows Attaleiates and the Continuator, but he has no great affection for Nicephorus III (as shown, for example, in his disapproval of Nicephorus' marriage to Maria, former wife of Michael VII – p. 722/13–15).

We have already seen that Zonaras slanted his paraphrase of the *Speech* of Justin II so as to warn against over-indulgence towards the

soldiery. Not that he fails to appreciate the importance of the army in the maintenance of the state: he argues against the opinion of Basil of Caesarea that soldiers with blood on their hands should not take communion for three years. He considers Basil's recommendation to be unnecessarily severe, for it would have the effect of isolating soldiers from the Christian community, and it was especially prejudicial against the bravest. If soldiers of quality were to become nervous of bloodshed, then barbarians would rule the earth, and that would be the end of all piety and chastity.[56] Zonaras supports the army as fervently as does Cecaumenus; but this does not lead him to like its commanders.

Zonaras' attitude to fiscalism is revealed in his criticism of Alexius I: Alexius was guilty of distributing public funds to relatives and hangers-on; he failed to save and store the money he raised, and little remained in the treasury after his death; he sought fresh income through taxation, which would have been unobjectionable had he not invented and imposed new levies and obligations. Zonaras does not mind taxation in itself, but he resents excessive taxation and wasteful expenditure. And thus he reveals himself to be an advocate of the now familiar policy of 'moderate fiscalism', as opposed to Attaleiates' 'generosity' (pp. 578/5–13; 646/14–18; 667/1–7; 737/15–738/3; 765/8–11).

On the subject of state authority Zonaras expresses his views most clearly in his account of the reign of Basil II. Scylitzes had described Basil's reign at some length, but with no detailed discussion of the emperor's character: he had mentioned merely in passing that Basil's policies were unpopular with the *dynatoi*, and he had touched on the emperor's dispute with the patriarch Sergius (Scyl., pp. 336/92–6; 340/91–6; 332/59; 347/76–80; 365/96–8). Zonaras reworks Scylitzes' narrative with the addition of his own unambiguous pronouncements on the quality of Basil's rule: Basil was made arrogant by his victories, and came to demand from his subjects not honour, but fear; in his admiration of the army and the state he was guided not by tradition, but by his whims; unlike Alexius I Basil was arrogant and irascible, but the two emperors were similarly capricious in their policies. And on financial affairs: Basil filled the treasury, but the money lay idle and unused, a

[56] *PG*, CXXXVIII, col. 637CD; see H. G. Beck, *Nomos, Kanon und Staatsraison in Byzanz* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 21–34.

profitless burden (pp. 554/7–9; 561/6–562/10). Thus the chronicler balances his advocacy of 'moderate fiscalism' with advocacy of 'moderate generosity'.

What can Zonaras offer as an alternative to the patrimonial style of government? Here too his position is clearly delineated: the main fault of Basil II was that he did not surround himself with wise men distinguished for their noble birth ('τῷ γένει') and for their cultured intelligence ('λόγῳ' – p. 541/11–14). Like Psellus, and unlike Attaleiates, Zonaras associates nobility of birth not with valour, but with culture. He states his case even more pointedly with reference to Alexius I, who 'failed to show due honour and concern for members of the senate, but rather strove to belittle them' (p. 766/17–19). And elsewhere Zonaras discusses in detail the special and vital status which, he feels, should be accorded to the senate: Constantinople could claim to be the second Rome because it had become the home not only of the emperor, but also of the senate; it was essential that the emperor's counsellors, as men of nobility and culture, should have the right to set moral constraints on the emperor's use of power – Zonaras vigorously defends the right to criticize the emperor,[57] rather as Cecaumenus insists that the emperor must have an unbiased and forthright adviser to remind him of his lapses and vices (see Cec., p. 292/6–8).

Zonaras' attitude to poverty comes across in his paraphrase of Justin's *Speech*: his overriding concern is for the welfare of the rich, and for the protection of *their* property, and he recommends charity only 'where possible'. He interprets a ruling of the Council of Chalcedon to mean that the poor man ('πτωχός') should enjoy no advantages in law, and should be held fully accountable for his debts.[58] And in his chronicle he speaks disparagingly of the urban rabble: the 'ὄχλος' and the servants of a few senators were not a suitable army with which to defend the capital against Leo Tornices; the rabble mocked the rebellious Theodosius Monomachus; the rabble supported Botaneiates against Alexius Comnenus (pp. 628/4–8; 656/7–10; 728/10–12).

On all these key issues, therefore, Zonaras' opinions are tailored to the interests of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy, the senators.[59] And yet he is hostile to Psellus, and he repeats the

[57] *PG*, CXXXVII, cols. 488C, 212AB. [58] *PG*, CXXXVII, col. 429C.
[59] See F. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik*, pp. 144–5.

Continuator's denunciation of the philosopher who taught Michael VII to compose iambics while the country fell around him in ruins (p. 714/12–14). We may surmise that Zonaras and Psellus adhered to different camps or factions within the higher echelons of the administration. But while Zonaras' differences with Psellus seem to be personal or factional, his differences with Attaleiates are fundamental, points of basic principle. This being the case, one cannot possibly accept, without major qualification, the view that Attaleiates is simply the mouthpiece of the civilian aristocracy.

We must explore other channels. Was Attaleiates perhaps closer to the military? We noted that valour was a necessary component of Attaleiates' paradigm of imperial virtues. But we also saw that in his descriptions of Botaneiates' entourage, military dignitaries take second place to their civilian counterparts, and that in analogous narratives they receive less attention. In such circumstances it seems equally impossible to claim that Attaleiates represents the interests of the military aristocracy. In order to clarify his position, however, let us now look at his attitudes towards individual members of this group, following the same procedure as we used with the civilians.

Valiant generals march freely and frequently through the pages of Attaleiates' *History*: George Maniaces is a glorious warrior with the strength to hack an enemy in twain; of colossal size, broad-shouldered, fearsome to behold, bloodthirsty, heroic in battle, and a giver of sound advice. Nevertheless, Attaleiates tempers his enthusiasm with caution: when Maniaces unexpectedly falls from his horse and dies, the historian admits that this was probably a judgement from God (Attal., pp. 18/6; 19/5–21). Attaleiates does not reveal his own moral judgement of Maniaces, but in general his admiration for martial ability is *not* conditional upon his approval of the cause in which this ability is applied. He evidently dislikes Leo Tornices, who, by instigating civil war, descended to the level of a barbarian, and who allowed his troops to indulge in quite unpardonable looting. But this does not prevent Attaleiates from describing Vatatzes (one of Tornices' supporters) as brave, intelligent, and skilled at warfare. And so the list of warriors grows: Theodore Alyates was noble of birth and noble ('γενναίως', omitted in ed.) in battle, of miraculous appearance, of extraordinary bulk and solidity; Basil Theodorocanus leapt onto an enemy ship, where single-handed he killed or threw overboard all

his opponents; Michael Doceianus killed the leader of the 'Scythians' who had captured him, and he died a noble death under torture (pp. 21/7–14; 23/19–21; 29/9–11; 34/17–24; 170/11–14; 171/18–19).

Attaleiates writes in detail about several military leaders from the family of the Comneni. The first of them is the *curopalates* Manuel, who was appointed to high command by Romanus IV. The historian pays Manuel a few half-hearted compliments (when necessary Manuel could display good sense and fairness; though he was young his manner was mature), but he mainly concentrates on the failures: after Manuel's appointment the empire went through severe difficulties; he was defeated in battle (pp. 138/19–140/6; 147/20–5; cf. Scyl. Cont., pp. 139–40; 144).

Isaac, one of Manuel's brothers, attacked the Turks at night; he fought bravely and with no thought of flight (the Continuator omits this statement), but was captured (Attal., pp. 183/20–184/5; Scyl. Cont., p. 157/13–17). The youngest of these brothers was Alexius who, despite his youth, was a match for anybody in intelligence and bravery. Attaleiates goes on to point out (and the Continuator omits) that Alexius was loyal to Nicephorus III, and that he once gained a victory by adhering to advice provided by Nicephorus (Attal., pp. 199/11–14; 289/3–8; cf. Scyl. Cont., pp. 161/17–18; 180/12–13).

Attaleiates frequently has occasion to mention the military side of the family of the Ducae – the caesar John, and his sons Andronicus and Constantine, and with striking consistency he refrains from stating his own opinion of their character and behaviour. His normal practice is simply to list their titles and offices. Yet he does let slip a few hints: they sometimes resembled less counsellors than conspirators ('συνέδρους' – 'ἐφέδρους'); Romanus IV kept Andronicus close to himself almost as a hostage; John was worried about being thought a traitor; he was arrogant, and utterly humiliated through his defeat by Roussel; Andronicus deserted the army (pp. 101/22–3; 106/1–2; 168/16–17; 185/12–13; 186/7–8; 193/6–11). Thus Attaleiates little by little builds up an impression of the Ducae as disloyal cowards. Eventually he brings his views into the open, when dealing with Constantius, brother of Michael VII Ducas: Constantius wrought havoc in Asia Minor; disgracefully and illegally, like an enemy of the emperor, he provided the Turks

with aid; his own revolt was merely the climax of a long series of disruptive actions, and of the evil deeds of his family ('γένος' – see pp. 309/13–310/5). The Continuator gives a more subdued account of Constantius, but he too is no friend of the Ducae. He notes that caesar John and the stepsons of Romanus IV mismanaged the affairs of the empire, and he stresses the active role played by John, his sons, and Psellus, in the overthrow of Romanus IV (Scyl. Cont., pp. 124/15; 152/16–23).

Attaleiates is severely critical of Botaneiates' rival, Nicephorus Bryennius. At Manzikert Nicephorus showed himself to be a coward; his resistance to the Pechenegs was pitifully squalid; in captivity, he even imposed taxes on his fellow-prisoners (all this is toned down by the Continuator). This unpleasant image of Bryennius develops to almost mythical proportions: a swaggering Briareus, unable to endure his subordination to the emperor; callous, intransigent and arrogant, in his pursuit of supreme power he was prepared to sacrifice the blood of Christians and to strew the empire with human carcasses; he was so preposterously boastful that he even threatened to move the land and the sea from their places. Attaleiates also casts doubt on the nobility of Bryennius' lineage, at any rate by comparison with that of Botaneiates. When Bryennius' revolt failed, he was justifiably blinded (pp. 154–5; 262/22–263/4; 284/22–3; 285/11–286/3; 287/19–288/10; 291/17–292/9). The Continuator does not share this passionate antipathy towards Nicephorus Bryennius, nor does he repeat Attaleiates' claim that Nicephorus' brother John deliberately started fires in Constantinople (see Scyl. Cont., pp. 179/12–181/7; also Attal., p. 252/4–11).

Attaleiates is noticeably less severe on Nicephorus Basilaces, Bryennius' successor as *dux* of Dyrrhachium and as aspirant to the throne – though he does chastize Basiliaces for stupidity: the *dux* was, in effect, responsible for his own ruin, for he failed to appreciate the virtues of Botaneiates, failed to learn from the example of Bryennius, and succumbed to vain and foolish ambition (pp. 298/13–299/1).

Several generals besides Bryennius and the Ducae are depicted as cowards: Joseph Trachaniotes, who fled ignominiously from the field of battle; the *proedros* Paul, who deserted the hard-pressed Romanus IV by night; and an unnamed eunuch, 'satrap of the

Bulgars' (in fact Basil Monachus), who laid a cowardly and cunning trap into which he eventually fell himself (pp. 37–9; 158/15–19; 168/11–12).

The Continuator retains most of Attaleiates' comments on members of the military aristocracy. There are a number of omissions (e.g. to soften Attaleiates' criticism of the Bryennii), but almost no additions. Because of their paucity his extra remarks are especially revealing. He has, for example, a revealing note on the appointment of Catacalon Cecaumenus as *curopalates*: Catacalon is the favourite hero of Scylitzes[60] (from whom the Continuator probably takes his information), but Attaleiates says nothing about him at all. Thus according to Scylitzes Catacalon played the leading role in the revolt of Isaac Comnenus; in Attaleiates' *History* this role is taken over by Botaneiates (see Scyl. Cont., p. 103/17–19; Scyl., pp. 487/26–30; 500/84–8; Attal., p. 56/1–5). Apart from this insertion on Catacalon, the Continuator provides, right at the end of his work, one or two more scraps of extra information on members of the military aristocracy: on important appointments for Alexander Cabasilas and Leo Diabatenus, and also on the marriage of the daughter of Theodoulus Synadenus to the king of Hungary (p. 185/21–5).

Despite his admiration for valour, Attaleiates is fairly unenthusiastic about the great military families (cf. Bryennius, whose history is, in effect, a tale of the heroic deeds of precisely these families – the Comneni, the Ducae, the Bryennii and the Trachaniotae).[61] Perhaps surprisingly Attaleiates is rather more favourably disposed towards foreigners in the service of Byzantium than towards native Byzantine commanders. Twice he discusses in detail the character of Philaretus Brakhamius (presented as 'Βαχάμιος'): first he describes Philaretus as a man of the utmost military distinction (Bonn ed. 'περιοπήν' for 'περιωπήν'), but one whose everyday morals were reprehensible; a man who used his talent only to gain money and glory for himself. Later, however, Attaleiates remarks that Philaretus became a devoted servant of Botaneiates in the struggle against the Turks (pp. 132/10–16;

[60] See A. P. Kazhdan, review of Thurn's ed. of Scylitzes, *Istoriko-Filologicheskiy Zhurnal* (1975), no. 1, pp. 206–12; also J. Shepard, 'Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catacalon Cecaumenos', *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, XI (1975–6), pp. 269–311.

[61] See A. Carile, 'La "Hylē historias" del cesare Niceforo Briennio', *Aevum*, XLIII (1969), pp. 254–64.

301/7–20). Khachaturius was a brave man of many virtues, who sided with the deposed Diogenes because he sympathized with him and remembered his good deeds (pp. 137/1–2; 172/2–8). Liparites bore himself valiantly as a captive of the Turks: the sultan was moved not only by his bravery, but also by the high qualities of his mind and soul; and the emperor rewarded him for his loyalty (p. 45/8–23). Both the Continuator and Attaleiates agree that Ausinalius was crafty and bellicose; but the Continuator lays stress on his caution and intelligence, whereas Attaleiates highlights his meanness and cowardice (Attal., p. 107/10–22; Scyl. Cont., p. 128/1–6). Attaleiates does, however, pay fulsome tribute to the fighting virtues of Crispin and Roussel, while the Continuator speaks only of Roussel's insolence. Attaleiates (and not the Continuator) expresses regret that a soldier such as Roussel was woefully underrated, and that his talents were not put to work in the fight against the Turks.[62] Elsewhere Attaleiates praises the martial qualities of other Latins (Attal., pp. 124/21–2; 148/22; 171/3–6; 185/9–10; 207/4–13; also 35/12–19; 46/20–47/7; Scyl. Cont., pp. 134/20; 144/15; 158/9–10).

Attaleiates' panegyric to Nicephorus III might have led one to suppose that the historian was a whole-hearted supporter of the Byzantine provincial aristocracy. But the prosopographical analysis of his *History* compels us to treat this assumption with some caution. The great aristocratic families of the Bryennii and the Ducae, as well as the Comneni, the Basilacae and the Trachaniotae do not receive Attaleiates' unequivocal approbation. The historian prefers those members of the military élite who were of Latin or Caucasian origin, or else those who came from mainly civilian families (just as, conversely, among the civilian élite he favours those families which also produced military commanders).

These observations help to clarify Attaleiates' opinions on war and the army. Of course he accepts the need for a strong and well-maintained army. His hero Nicephorus III is overflowing with solicitation for the army, and the historian criticizes rulers who withhold pay and bonuses from soldiers who endure the dangers of battle (p. 95/17–19). On these points Attaleiates seems merely to echo Byzantine conventional wisdom. We meet the same

[62] On Attaleiates and Roussel, see Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik*, pp. 142–3.

even in Psellus, who praises Constantine X for looking after his troops; he advises Romanus IV to prepare a campaign thoroughly in advance, to gather the soldiers, compile proper lists, and to summon allies; he approves of Isaac I's attempts to restore the strength of the army and thus to eliminate the cause of the empire's vulnerability to foreign attack; Michael VI denied soldiers their just rewards and so caused the army to fall into disarray (Psellus, *Chron.* II, pp. 119 lix/25–9; 139 ii/11; 142 vii/25–6; 158 xii/3–4). Even in his letters Psellus boasts of his concern for the army, and advises on how it should be run.[63] One finds the same kind of advice in Cecaumenus: take care of the army; do not cut army pay, for the soldier earns it with his blood (cf. the same expression in Attaleiates); do not ruin your troops through neglect (Cec., pp. 276/21–3; 292/14).

Yet although Attaleiates accepts in principle that the state needs the army, he does not show great affection for soldiers. Botaneiates, he says, was surrounded by men who were mild and accessible, not stern and unbending like soldiers ('κατὰ στρατιώτας'); and Botaneiates' father Michael differed from many soldiers in that he was neither aloof in his behaviour nor vainglorious in his pursuits (pp. 321/18–20; 236/17–19). The Continuator omits both these passages. And on another occasion the Continuator edits Attaleiates in a way which nicely illustrates his own different approach: Attaleiates informs us that Manuel Comnenus, having raised an army, was anxious to preserve order ('τῆς εὐνομίας . . . φροντίζων'); Manuel therefore punished soldiers who committed offences ('τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν') and imposed fines for unruly behaviour ('τῆς ἀτασθαλίας' – p. 139/7–10). The Continuator reshapes the sentence to give a wholly new meaning: Manuel was anxious not only about law and order, but *also* about the army ('οὐ τῆς εὐνομίας μόνον . . . φροντίζων' – p. 139/16–17). Attaleiates' point is that a commander has to protect ordinary citizens from the rudery and indiscipline of his soldiers; this idea is unacceptable, perhaps incomprehensible, to the Continuator, and hence his revealing distortion.

The form of military tactics most widely admired by eleventh-

[63] Sathas, *MB*, v, p. 470/21–3; Psellus, *Scripta minora*, II (Milan, 1941), p. 240/13–21.

century Byzantine writers is guile. Copious tales of guile are related by, for example, Scylitzes: outnumbered by the Russians, Bardas Sclerus tried to outflank them by tactical deception ('στρατηγικαῖς . . . ἀπάταις'), by skill and by cunning, and he managed to entice them into an ambush; he also deceived the stratopedarch Peter, for he made a great show of feeding his men and not preparing for battle, and then launched a sudden attack with troops who had been formed up secretly. Yet Bardas Sclerus himself eventually fell victim to deception ('ἀπάτη'): Manuel Eroticus, besieged by Sclerus in Nicaea, ordered that the city's granaries be filled with sand, and that the sand be covered with a thin layer of grain; he then sent to Sclerus prisoners who could testify that the city had in store enough grain to last for two years; Sclerus agreed to negotiate rather than continue the siege. By guile and deceit Eustathius Daphnomelus captured well-nigh impregnable Bulgarian strongholds. The Arabs were tricked ('φενακισθέντες') by George Maniaces: at night, as they slumbered peacefully after a banquet, George attacked and killed them and stole two hundred and eighty camels. Yet the Arabs were themselves adept at trickery: arriving at Edessa with a thousand soldiers concealed in crates, they claimed that they were travelling to the emperor with gifts, and could they please spend the night in the city; their intention, of course, was to open the crates under cover of darkness and thus win possession of Edessa – and in the event they were frustrated only by chance. By trickery Catacalon Cecaumenus won notable victories over both Arabs and Turks (Scyl., pp. 288–9; 319/93–4; 323; 360–2; 381–2; 403–4; 407/22–45; 449/61–77).

We find similar tales of guile in Cecaumenus. Indeed Cecaumenus specifically urges generals to employ traps and trickery, and his anecdotes are remarkably like those of Scylitzes. For example, a toparch in Armenia – possibly the author's own grandfather – sent a thousand pack animals into a Byzantine fortress; the animals were laden with bread, ostensibly as a gift; but once the porters were inside the walls they drew swords which had been hidden with the bread and overcame the Byzantine occupants (cf. Scylitzes on the thousand crates!). And there are other stories of the same kind: how Stephen Vojislav of Zeta outwitted the military governor of Ragusa; how a Byzantine governor in Macedonia was seized by the

Bulgarian *voevoda* Demetrius – apparently Cecaumenus' other grandfather – while in his bath (Cec., pp. 170–6).

Unlike Scylitzes and Cecaumenus, Attaleiates is unimpressed by deviousness. He prefers plain, honest bravery: Nicephorus Phocas defeated the Arabs in Crete by swift frontal attack; Michael Botaneiates thrust forward boldly and overwhelmed the Bulgarians, leaving the battlefield strewn with corpses; Romanus IV took on and overwhelmed the Turks in pitched battle (pp. 126–7; 227/11–17; 231/13–17). Only rarely does Attaleiates tell stories of military cunning, and he does so without any great enthusiasm. Those who resort to guile ('ἀπάτη') are, in most cases, either Turks, or people whom Attaleiates obviously dislikes, such as the advisers of Romanus IV at Manzikert (pp. 105/17–18; 160/9–18). The historian speaks with contempt of Basilaces' plan (which failed) to attack Alexius Comnenus at night (pp. 299/18–300/1). It is left to the Continuator to insert an episode – absent in Attaleiates – in which Nicephorus Carantenus gains a victory 'by cunning and deceit' ('ἀπάτῃ δὲ καὶ δόλῳ' – Scyl. Cont., p. 169/13–19).

Attaleiates' 'chivalric' notion of military tactics is to some extent shared by Bryennius. Bryennius does relate some stories of deception, but all of them are peripheral to the main conduct of war: Isaac Comnenus tricked the patriarch of Antioch by pretending to be ill; Alexius Comnenus persuaded the Turks to lure Roussel into a trap and hand him over to the Byzantines; Alexius also misled the Amasians with the false information that he had blinded Roussel; and during his battle against Bryennius (the historian's grandfather) he spread a rumour that his enemy had fallen (Bryen., pp. 193/5–12; 203–5; 189/12–16; 273/20–8). For the most part, however, Bryennius' heroes fight openly and directly. The enemies of Byzantium may resort to traps and tricks, but the Byzantines themselves do not deign thus to degrade the art of war (e.g. pp. 115/15–117/6; 185/26–8). The Byzantines strike into the enemy lines; heavily outnumbered, they close their own ranks to ward off attack; Arabates the Alan resolved to stem a Turkish advance alone, since he could find no man brave enough to stand with him; he dismounted and shooed away his horse, so that he would have no possible means of escape; wounded in the arm, he ripped out the arrow and ('like Brasidas of old') with it slew the Turk who had loosed it upon him (pp. 149/27–151/12; 161/21–163/6; 165/12–23).

Andronicus Ducas could have escaped to safety, but he chose to remain on the battlefield, struggling to free his captured father (p. 171/16–23). Bryennius' heroes 'fight valiantly', 'defend themselves valiantly' (pp. 149/24; 271/28; 279/20). Valour, not 'ἀπάτη', is the quality to be admired.

Yet the views of Attaleiates and Bryennius are not quite identical. The difference between them is illustrated in their treatment of the advisers of Romanus IV. There is a considerable variety of opinions among eleventh-century historians as to the role played by these advisers. According to Psellus, Romanus was afflicted by that incurable infirmity of emperors: the conceit which led him to ignore advice and to rely entirely on his own judgement (Psellus, *Chron.* II, p. 159 xiv/3–5). The Continuator of Scylitzes offers a different interpretation: rephrasing Attaleiates out of context, he asserts that Romanus was held back by his advisers, who were in fact deeply hostile towards their noble and spirited leader ('ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ θυμοειδεῖ'); unlike Attaleiates, the Continuator tells us who these villains were – Nicephorus Palaeologus, Constantine Psellus, and the caesar John Ducas (Scyl. Cont., p. 141/6–12; cf. Attal., pp. 96/2–97/6; 141/8–14).

Attaleiates discusses Romanus' advisers in greater detail elsewhere. After his victory over the Turks at Larissa (near Caesarea) the emperor decided to end his campaign and to disband his troops. He summoned his army judges ('us alone', stresses Attaleiates) and asked them for their opinion of his plan. His idea was vociferously supported, but Attaleiates himself remained silent. Romanus then put the question directly to Attaleiates, who was thus obliged, against his will, to speak out. In his speech Attaleiates maintained that it would be premature to abandon the expedition, since the enemy's defeat was not yet total. Romanus was much impressed with what Attaleiates had said, and he resolved to lead his army forward to the Euphrates. Later, however, he allowed himself to be deflected from this course (pp. 128–32).[64]

The Continuator omits the meeting of judges (and thus also Attaleiates' speech), stating merely that Romanus' plan to return home was thought inappropriate, and that the emperor therefore headed straight for the Euphrates (p. 136/12–13).

[64] See E. Th. Tsolakes, 'Ho Mikhaēl Attaleiatēs hōs kritikos tōn epicheireseōn kai tēs taktikēs tou polemou', *Byzantina*, I (1969), p. 202.

Bryennius presents a completely different view of Romanus' strategy. According to him, the question put to the military council was whether to seek and engage the Turks abroad, or to wait for them and fight on Byzantine territory. Those who were inclined to recklessness and flattery ('θρασύτερον . . . καὶ κολακικώτερον') advised the emperor not to wait, but to advance to Ecbatana. Only the *magister* Joseph Trachaniotes and the *dux* of the west Nicephorus Bryennius begged Romanus to stay where he was, to fortify the towns and burn the plains, so as to deprive the enemy of sustenance. But their pleas failed; Romanus heeded the flatterers, not the givers of sound advice (pp. 105/22–107/14). And again on the eve of Manzikert a cautious and prudent plan was rejected, and the emperor followed the rash counsel of flatterers: to join battle without waiting for reinforcements (p. 113/21–5).

To sum up: only Psellus suggests that Romanus took sole control of operations, that he arrogantly and self-assertively ignored his advisers; all the other historians ascribe to the advisers an active role in the planning of strategy, although each writer interprets their role differently. According to the Continuator, they exercised a restraining influence on the emperor, for they persuaded him to hold back when his instincts told him to advance. According to Attaleiates, Romanus responded positively to a call (from the author) for incisive action, but then faltered. Yet according to Bryennius, Romanus *did* follow the rash advice of his flatterers, and his precipitate action was disastrous.

Attaleiates' strategic advice to Romanus IV may be seen not as an expression of flattery (as Bryennius would have us believe), but as the practical expression of Attaleiates' 'chivalric' ideal of warfare – an ideal which, in this instance, the Continuator advocates even more vehemently than his source. This shared stance of Attaleiates and the Continuator is markedly different not only from that of Psellus, and not only from that of Cecaumenus (who reckons it better not to confront an enemy directly, but to arrange a series of tactical retreats to pick off his troops piecemeal);[65] the position of Attaleiates and the Continuator is markedly more 'militant' than that of the soldier and aristocrat Bryennius. Strange though it may seem, the boldest approach to military planning in the literature of the period comes from the army judge Attaleiates. We are thus

[65] cf. Litavrin's description of Cecaumenus as a 'defensive tactician', in Cec., p. 365, n. 223.

compelled to accept what seems to be a paradox: on the one hand Attaleiates does not share the views or support the interests of the military aristocracy; yet on the other hand he, more consistently than any of his contemporaries, extols the military virtues of valour, nobility, and the 'chivalric' conduct of war.

This paradox may have an important bearing on our conclusions. Let us for the moment, however, set it aside, and turn to Attaleiates' treatment of another section of Byzantine society: the clergy. The task is complicated by the fact that Byzantine historians tend to write about the clergy (and about patriarchs in particular) in terms even more stereotyped and commonplace than those which they apply to generals and emperors. Yet here also, if one looks carefully, one can detect traces of individuality. Take, for example, Scylitzes. In his account of events in the tenth century Scylitzes is anxiously concerned for the well-being of the church. He condemns every infringement of the church's interests, and he endows members of the clergy with all kinds of virtue (e.g. his treatment of the patriarchs Polyeuctus, Basil Scamandrenus and Sisinnius, of the monk Theodore, of the *synkellos* Stephen, and of Michael, metropolitan of Ancyra) (see esp. pp. 260/83–5; 274/51–8; 285–7; 317/44–6; 340/6–7; 375/65–7; 386/71–3). Yet after the reign of Basil II, or perhaps Romanus III, his tone changes: Michael IV might seem to have acted righteously in founding a monastery, but in fact his largesse flowed not from his own pocket, but from public funds; Constantine IX gave generously to churches, and spent large sums on monastic repairs, but Scylitzes still disapproves, because the emperor financed his generosity with improper levies (pp. 397/64–398/74; 405/67–72; 408/51–3; 476/44–477/73). Nor is Scylitzes particularly partial to eleventh-century clergymen: the partriarch Alexius was venal; Theophanes, metropolitan of Thessalonica, was greedy; one bishop Antony was unworthy of his office; and Scylitzes portrays Michael Cerularius as a deceiver, responsible for looting in the capital, and as the initiator of a revolt against Michael VI; oddest of all is the story of how St Nicholas of Myra visited John Orphanotrophus (whom Scylitzes heartily detests) in a dream to cure him of a boil – a tale which was surely intended to be heavily ironic, a kind of parody of hagiographic conventions (pp. 391/5–8; 400/29–31; 402/83–5; 498/45–499/73; 397/52–7).

Attaleiates shows none of the anti-clerical inclinations of this latter section of the chronicle of Scylitzes. For him the patriarch Alexius is, quite properly and formulaicly, a 'most holy' man. In the dispute between Isaac I and Michael Cerularius, Attaleiates is firmly on the side of the patriarch: Cerularius instructed the emperor like a father, weaning him away from his flatterers; but Isaac found moral teaching too burdensome, and wanted to be free of the stern patriarch, so he 'sharpened his deceit', whetted his sword, bared his fury, and had his onerous mentor apprehended and expelled. Then Attaleiates launches into a eulogy for the patriarch who, in the face of adversity, showed such steadfastness and nobility of soul that the metropolitans who were sent to him from the capital returned singing his praises. It was predicted that Cerularius would be counted as one who shone with spirituality and sanctity. Isaac I felt shamed by the patriarch's virtues, but was at a loss as to how to rectify his own crass error (pp. 16/1–2; 62–6). Attaleiates is alone among the historians in lending such unqualified support to Michael Cerularius. He is in disagreement not only with Psellus and Scylitzes,[66] but also with the Continuator: the Continuator stresses the patriarch's arrogance, omits all the eulogistic epithets and episodes, and transfers blame from the emperor onto the patriarch (Scyl. Cont., pp. 104/24–105/5).[67]

Attaleiates lauds the patriarch Constantine Leichoudes for, in particular, his liberally-spread generosity. He portrays John Xiphilinus as wise, cultured, experienced in affairs of state, virtuous, outstanding as a monk, altogether a worthy successor for Leichoudes (pp. 66/12–19; 92/16–93/3). Leichoudes and Xiphilinus were also friends of Psellus, although an argument did develop between Psellus and Xiphilinus on the merits of classical culture.[68] Cecaumenus, too, has great respect for Xiphilinus.[69] The Continuator preserves most of Attaleiates' eulogy, but then inserts an episode which somewhat deflates the patriarch's reputation:

[66] Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 79–90. One need not, however, accept Lyubarsky's view (pp. 86ff.) that Attaleiates' account of the patriarch's exile contains a veiled reference to Psellus.

[67] N. Skabalanovich, *Vizantiyskoye gosudarstvo i tserkov' v XI veke* (St Petersburg, 1884), p. 386, suggests that the Continuator here uses an 'unknown source'. Perhaps this 'source' was oral.

[68] Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 49–55.

[69] Cec., p. 264/24–30 – although Litavrin ('Otvet retsenzentu', p. 173) suggests that Cecaumenus' remarks may be prompted more by self-interest than by genuine admiration.

Xiphilinus, it seems, tried to abuse his influence in order to set his good-for-nothing brother Bardas on the throne (Scyl. Cont., p. 123/9–23).

The last patriarch to be discussed by Attaleiates and the Continuator is Cosmas I. Only the Continuator tells of Cosmas' appointment, and he punctuates his account with panegyric: Cosmas was plucked from relative social obscurity, having belonged neither to the senate nor to the church hierarchy; nor had he been famed for his learning or for his practical achievements; he was a monk from Jerusalem, revered by the emperor (Michael VII) for his virtue; he had not tasted the sweet fruits of secular learning, but he was endowed with many fine qualities (Scyl. Cont., p. 176/7–14). Attaleiates mentions none of this, just as he fails to note even that his own hero Nicephorus III was in fact crowned emperor by this very Cosmas (see Scyl. Cont., p. 179/5). Speaking of the deposition of Michael VII, Attaleiates does mention the 'most holy patriarch', a venerable man of the utmost virtue, who had overcome all base desires (p. 303/15–18), but these perfunctory commonplaces do not convey that sense of genuine affection which is transparently expressed by the Continuator. It may be significant that Attaleiates, as an admirer of Leichoudes and Xiphilinus, does not include ignorance of secular learning in his list of Cosmas' patriarchal virtues!

Other churchmen appear in Attaleiates' *History* only rarely. The author speaks respectfully of an (unnamed) metropolitan of Iconium, whom he describes as a man not only of great piety, but also of great courage, as exemplified in his opposition to Nicephoritzes: the unfortunate metropolitan was seized at the altar of St Sophia, but he so shamed Michael VII with his candour ('παρρησία') that he was not punished (pp. 258/19–259/21). The Continuator omits this episode, though he does mention that the metropolitan of Iconium was among those who worked most assiduously for the overthrow of Michael VII (Scyl. Cont., p. 178/3). The metropolitan of Nicomedia, on the other hand, sided with Michael VII: this misguided man, we are given to believe, ran his see like a tyrant, and was universally disliked (Attal., pp. 278/19–279/13). It is perhaps odd that Attaleiates never mentions Aemilianus, patriarch of Antioch, who was an active supporter of Botaneiates. In the eyes of Bryennius, Aemilianus was energetic

and devious, with an unparalleled capacity for stirring up trouble among the plebs (Bryen., p. 245/2–4).

So, Attaleiates has great respect for the leaders of the church – and in particular, for the more politically active patriarchs, like Leichoudes, Cerularius and Xiphilinus. Thus, unsurprisingly, he also approves of the measures taken by Isaac I to expand the privileges of the Great Church and to guarantee for the patriarch the right to appoint official managers of church property (p. 60/11–17). And conversely he criticizes Constantine IX for depriving churches and monasteries of their grain-privileges, and he rebukes Michael VII for plundering any churches which in his (Michael's) opinion had wealth to spare; Botaneiates, naturally, returned all that his predecessor had taken (pp. 51/3–8; 260/7–10; 274/22–3; 277/19–21).

Attaleiates is not, however, totally indiscriminate in his support for religious institutions: he is distinctly wary of monasteries. He may describe Isaac I's monastic confiscations as 'sacrilegious plunder', but he accepts that they brought some benefits: through such confiscations the emperor liberated monks from cares ill suited to their life of contemplation; he removed from material temptation those who had been trained for poverty; and he freed the neighbouring peasants from monastic coercion (p. 61/13–21).

Nowhere does Attaleiates pay tribute to the virtues of monks. The Continuator, by contrast, mentions not only the exemplary monastic life of the future patriarch Cosmas, but also the renowned 'ἀρετή' of the aptly-named Panaretus, who worked vigorously to prevent the marriage between Botaneiates and Eudocia, widow of both Constantine X and Romanus IV (Scyl. Cont., p. 182/1–14).

Attaleiates and the Continuator differ from one another in their attitudes to religious institutions and personalities. And very similar differences are detectable in their respective attitudes to culture and learning. The Continuator, like Cecaumenus, is on the whole suspicious of secular learning, while Attaleiates values it highly. Not that Attaleiates was any Psellus-like polymath. His references to antiquity are superficial, and confined to text-book commonplaces: he mentions Ares, Dionysus (and the epithet 'Bacchic'), Heracles, Briareus, the Laestrygonians, the Cyclopes, the Aloeides, the Sirens, and the hundred-handed giants (pp. 85/10–12; 104/7–8; 216/10–11; 255/21; 299/5–6; 235/5; 252/3–4;

259/12; 264/4–5). The Continuator omits every one of these mythological references except Ares (Scyl. Cont., p. 126/7). And he also omits Attaleiates' references to Homer, Hesiod, ancient comedy, Agathias and Alexander the Great (Attal., p. 32/21; 90/17–22; 99/15–16; 133/21–134/1; 219/7–8; 227/1–2; 231/5–6; 280/7–8; 283/21–2).

Indubitably more significant than these commonplaces is what might be termed the 'naive naturalism' which is a distinctive feature of Attaleiates' style and outlook. More than any other eleventh-century historian, Attaleiates maintains a lively interest in unusual phenomena of nature. It is, of course, normal for medieval historiography to record abnormal occurrences in the visible world, and many of Attaleiates' observations are in this respect merely typical: the birth of a three-legged bird, or of a goat-footed child with an eye in its forehead; a comet; fire burning without matter; the hands of Cerularius' corpse set in the sign of the cross; the coffin of Isaac I apparently filling with moisture (pp. 69/17–18; 66/6–11; 91/17–92/2; 211/2–4; 241/10–242/3). Yet he provides more than merely the standard records of strange signs and portents. He does not simply gape with wonder; he tries to describe accurately and to explain. Thus he describes in detail the exotic animals acquired by Constantine X: an elephant, and a *kamelopardalis* (giraffe – pp. 48–50). He considers the natural causes of thunder, and the mechanisms by which it operates, and he mocks the simple-minded who believe that thunder is generated by a huge dragon (pp. 310/19–311/17). He is interested in the causes of earthquakes – although in this instance he prefers the religious explanation rather than the theory that quakes are created by air and water moving in the depths of the earth (pp. 88/20–89/21).[70] His geographical horizons are hazy, but nevertheless fairly distant: he even maintains that the Ganges reaches a width of four and a half *milia* (p. 44/1). In his preface Attaleiates insists that, as a point of principle, strange phenomena must not be consigned by the historian to oblivion; yet he displays none of the superstitious awe which all too easily gripped, for example, Leo the Deacon. For Leo, who wrote less than a century before Attaleiates, odd signs in the heavens are 'gruesome, terrible and sinister'; for Attaleiates they are

[70] cf. Theoph. Cont., p. 673/11.

objects not of fear, but of curiosity (Leo Diac., p. 4/5–18; cf. Attal., p. 5/10–19).

We have examined Attaleiates' treatment of the senate, the military aristocracy and the church, and in each case his attitudes have turned out to be rather diffuse or, at best, ambivalent. For some unaccustomed clarity, let us look at the way in which he and the Continuator treat ordinary townspeople, artisans and traders. No other social group evokes in the two historians such strikingly different responses. Attaleiates is keenly attentive to the townspeople, and he regularly notes details of their political and economic pursuits. Almost all such information is omitted by the Continuator. In the following list, Attaleiates' remarks on the townspeople are arranged by categories. Those passages which concern reigns before that of Isaac I, and which therefore fall outside the scope of the Continuator's narrative, are marked with an asterisk. Omissions by the Continuator are not specially noted.

A. General references to the plebs

1* All the people of the capital welcome Isaac Comnenus (p. 58/9–10).

2 The advance of Roussel was a threat to the emperor and to all the people (p. 186/17); in the Continuator, only 'to the emperor' (p. 158/22).

3 The citizens of Constantinople ('οἱ τῆς πολιτείας') and the senate (p. 318/12).

4 In the account of famine under Michael VII, only Attaleiates specifically mentions the sufferings of the townsfolk ('τῶν τῆς πόλεως δήμων') (p. 211/21–2; see also p. 233/3).[71]

B. The urban crowd as an active force

1* The crowd ('ὄχλος', 'πλῆθος') was active in the overthrow of Michael V: once it had scattered the troops it did not disperse as if leaderless, but rather it grew more resolute, as if guided from above; it destroyed the houses of the rich and powerful, and trampled the riches which had been acquired through injustice and through oppression of the poor (pp. 14/10–15/17).

[71] On the differentiated usage of 'δῆμος' and 'δῆμοι', see A. Cameron, 'Demes and Factions', *BZ*, LXVII (1974), pp. 75–82.

2 The army and the imperial guard plotted against Constantine X; the crowd grew alarmed, for it was against the plot (pp. 72/13–74/10). The Continuator speaks only of the actions of the magnates (p. 111/25–6).
3 Bryennius sent troops to Constantinople in the hope that he might exploit the citizens' ('πολῖται') dissatisfaction with Michael VII; his ploy failed, and he succeeded only in aggravating the citizens against himself (pp. 250/7–24; 252/13–15; Scyl. Cont., pp. 174/21–175/3).
4 A gathering of the people of Constantinople ('τὸ τῆς πόλεως συνάθροισμα') proclaimed Botaneiates emperor; the people assembled ('ἐκκλησιάζοντες') in St Sophia; the assembly ('ἐκκλησία') considers its actions 'democratic' ('δημοκρατουμένους'), and it responds with contempt to the reading of a chrysobull from Michael VII (pp. 256/9–257/3).
5 Botaneiates was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the synod, and 'οἱ δημοτικοί' (p. 298/1–2).
6 Constantine Ducas attempted to overthrow Botaneiates with the aid of poor advisers from among the soldiers and the plebs (p. 307/16).

C. City organizations

1* Mention of a 'σύλλογος' in Constantinople after the death of Michael IV, as was usual after a coup (p. 10/19–20).
2 A 'συνάθροισμα' – see above, B4.
3* Divisions of soldiers and plebs ('δημοτικὰ συντάγματα') tried to impose order on the city (p. 58/14–17).
4 Constantine X delivered a speech to the city corporations ('τὰ σωματεῖα τῆς πόλεως') (p. 71/12–13); in the Continuator's version the corporations disappear, and in their place come the senate and the 'δημοτικόν' (p. 111/11–12).
5 Michael VII likewise delivered a speech, from the throne, to 'πολῖται' and senators (p. 186/20–2).

D. The market, and other forms of urban economic life

1* The people of the market ('οἱ τῆς ἀγορᾶς') decorated the capital for the Easter procession of Michael V (p. 12/10, 19).

2 Constantine X rewarded senators and the people of the market (p. 71/12–13); in the Continuator – the senate and the plebs (p. 111/15).

3 As loyal troops quashed the plot against Constantine X, they crossed the market-place, where they found a none-too-innocent eparch loitering ('διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς', 'κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν') (p.74/5, 15–19).

4 Michael VII vigorously wooed the support of the senators, but he also made the customary promise-filled speeches to the people of the market (p. 169/14–20).

5 Where Attaleiates (p. 270/8) speaks specifically of the people of the market, the Continuator substitutes a more vague reference to townsfolk ('ὅσον ἐν ἀστικοῖς καὶ δημοτικοῖς') (Scyl. Cont., p. 177/23–4).

6* Merchants' stalls ('κραββατῖναι') were wrecked during the disturbances of 1042 (p. 14/9).

7* Theodora appointed the market administration (p. 16/22–3).

8 The successful initiators of the coup against Michael VII appointed people to guard the palace, to keep order in the market ('τὴν ἀγορανομικὴν εὐταξίαν'), and to take command of the fleet (pp. 270/24–271/2); the Continuator mentions the establishment of authority on land and sea, but says nothing of the market-place (p. 178/14–15).

9 Attaleiates describes in great detail the Constantinopolitan *scalae* – jetties secured with logs, where itinerant merchants came (from sea or land) to trade (p. 278/2–7).

E. Other urban groups

1 Prominent townspeople were split into 'parties' ('φράτριαι') (p. 170/13–14).

2 Many citizens in positions of authority ('τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίαις πολίτων'), who rarely ventured outside the walls of Constantinople (Bonn ed., 'βαδίζειν καὶ ἀποστάδ . . .'; perhaps one should read 'ἀποστατεῖν'), nevertheless travelled to Nicaea to greet Botaneiates (p. 272/18–21).

3 The idle and the poor of the capital ('ἀργοί', 'πένητες') regularly huddled in the porticos and lived as parasites and spongers; they would, for example, flock to congratulate ('προσφημίζειν'; ed.

'προφημίζειν') those who received favours from the emperor (pp. 275/22–276/4).

F. Botaneiates' relations with the townspeople

1 Michael, father of the emperor, did not despise the townspeople ('ἀστικοί'), nor did he shun the company of 'πολῖται' (p. 236/11–22).
2 Many 'ἀστικοί', when they heard that Botaneiates had been proclaimed emperor, were so overcome with joy that they left their families so as to travel to greet him (p. 238/11–17).
3 Botaneiates was immensely popular in Constantinople, and the citizens greeted his troops joyfully (pp. 251/14; 267/15).
4 The townspeople derived many benefits from Botaneiates; he was favourably disposed towards them; he was as generous towards them as towards his own followers; he rewarded magnates and plebs alike (pp. 255/11–12; 276/16–18; 283/10).
5 Botaneiates extended his patronage 'even to the simple crafts' ('βαναύσων τεχνῶν'), for they too were of use to the city ('τῇ πολιτείᾳ') and its inhabitants (p. 281/7–10).
6 Botaneiates returned the private *scalae* – confiscated by Michael VII – to their former owners (pp. 278/15–17; 279/22–3).

G. Provincial towns

The following list does not include all references to provincial towns, but only those which are qualified by some description, or by some expression of opinion.

1 The town which Attaleiates describes in greatest detail is Rhaedestus where he himself owned land. He is indignant at the establishment of a grain monopoly which adversely affected sailors, peasants and townspeople alike (pp. 201/19–204/12). Attaleiates discusses this episode at some length; the Continuator reduces it to only a few lines (p. 162/9–12). The Continuator omits, for example, Attaleiates' uniquely informative comments on the demands of hired labourers ('μισθαρνοῦντες') that their pay be increased in line with rising prices (Attal., p. 204/5–6). Elsewhere Attaleiates mentions the demolition of the *fundax*, a building used for the administration

both of the grain trade and of port maintenance (pp. 248/14–249/15).

2 Iconium was large and populous, and it contained many houses and other luxuries and necessities for the sustenance of life (p. 135/11–13).

3 The Turks plundered churches in Caesarea, and they removed the precious gates of the tomb of St Basil (p. 94/2–10).

4 A cold spring near Caesarea provided all manner of blessings: clear water, dense vegetation, lush grass ('ποᾶς'; ed. 'ποῆς'), a wood, roses, lilies, and many kinds of flowers; it was a kind of 'garden suburb' ('ἀστυκώμη καὶ ἀγρόπολις') (p. 146/11–18). The Continuator (p. 143/24–6) shortens this passage, omitting all the descriptive detail.

6 Anthia (in the Taurus region) lay at the foot of high mountains; it was rich in water, grasses and grain; it was the navel, or the treasure-house, of that land (p. 133/4–7).[72]

7 The fort of Azas perched upon crags, and was protected by double walls and a stone rampart (p. 117/5–8).

8 The broad plains near Hierapolis were irrigated by water which was warmed by the heat of the earth and of the air (p. 111/18–23).

9 The populous town of Ani enjoyed the natural protection of ravines, cliffs and a deep river, besides being fortified with walls; it was inhabited mainly by merchants (pp. 79/14–20; 81/16). The Continuator barely mentions the place (cf. p. 113/13–15).

10 Attaleiates enhances the status of Iconium, Chonae, Artze and Rhaedestus by using the term 'πολιτεία' to describe them (pp. 135/10–11; 136/20; 140/15–16; 148/13; 203/6).

Attaleiates evidently maintained a lively interest in the urban population, in its crafts and trades. Such an interest is exceptional in an eleventh-century Byzantine historian. As regards Constantinople itself, the Continuator either omits Attaleiates' remarks altogether, or else he supplies only vague generalities where Attaleiates had given precise descriptions. In a very few cases he allows Attaleiates' text to remain intact; but never, so far as we can

[72] 'τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης'; *E* has 'ἐκεῖνος', perhaps referring to 'ὀμφαλός' or 'τόπος'; the Continuator dispenses with the word altogether, so that Anthia becomes simply 'the navel of the earth'.

see, does he amplify his source with any of his own observations of urban life. On provincial towns the Continuator keeps (but sometimes abbreviates) most of Attaleiates' purely topographical references, but he omits all information on trade.

Even more unusual is the fact that Attaleiates' interest in the towns is born not of impartial curiosity, but of sympathetic concern. He particularly emphasizes, for example, the affection with which the townspeople were regarded by his 'ideal' hero Nicephorus Botaneiates. Yet we are again faced with a dilemma: is Attaleiates' concern for the townspeople compatible with his glorification of nobility, of hereditary status (especially with reference to Botaneiates)? Or is the latter in fact nothing more than empty rhetoric?

The dilemma is conveniently, if surprisingly, resolved by Bryennius, who shows that there was indeed an alliance, however unlikely it may appear, between the former provincial magnate Nicephorus Botaneiates and the ordinary citizens of Constantinople. The author of Bryennius' introduction (who may or may not have been Bryennius himself, but who was at any rate a contemporary)[73] expresses dismay at the fact that the plebs ('πᾶς ὁ δῆμος') blindly supported the revolt of Botaneiates; he explains that the mob ('πλῆθος') has a tendency to become excited by any rebellion (Bryen., p. 55/7–9). But, we notice, the plebs nevertheless rejected an attempt by the nobles to enthrone the brother of Michael VII (p. 57/20–1). That is to say, the plebs supported not just *any* rebellion, but specifically the rebellion of Nicephorus Botaneiates. Later, in the main text of his work, Bryennius returns to the same theme: Botaneiates worked hard to win the backing of the 'πολῖται'; and (a remark which reveals much about the attitude of Attaleiates) the emperor's generosity was designed to incline the *city* ('πόλισμα') in his favour. Not that this was the sole source of Botaneiates' support. He was also, to be sure, backed by the senate and the clergy; but besides them he had on his side the crowd ('πλῆθος'), composed mostly of artisans ('βάναυσον') unused to fighting (pp. 239/20; 247/14–15; 257/1–8).

Zonaras makes exactly the same point: in 1081, when Alexius Comnenus led the revolt *against* Botaneiates, Constantinople was

[73] See J. Seger, *Byzantinische Historiker des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts*, I (Munich, 1888), pp. 83–106.

defended by inexperienced mobs gathered from 'the people of the market' and the plebs (Zon. III, p. 728/11–12).

Now, at last, we are in a position to formulate some conclusions. Michael Attaleiates was not of noble birth. Even if he was himself born in Constantinople, his name betrays some link with Attaleia on the southern shores of Asia Minor. In his work, too, he preserves his connection with that area: most of the provincial towns which he describes are situated in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia and Syria – *not* in Macedonia, despite the fact that Attaleiates owned estates there. Judging by the nature of his interest in urban affairs, we may surmise (though we cannot, of course, prove) that Attaleiates grew up among tradesmen and artisans.

Attaleiates made a career for himself in the law, as a judge, and thus he acquired the social and economic status to become a senator, a member of the civilian élite of the capital. Although he joined this élite, he nevertheless remained, to some extent, an outsider. His own political ideas and ideals were not entirely those of his new social milieu. He did not advocate, like Zonaras, a political programme designed solely and unambiguously to protect the interests of the senate. In his *History* he pays considerable attention to the senate, but, as we have tried to show, such attentiveness cannot be taken to imply that Attaleiates was in any way 'pro-senatorial' in his opinions; it merely reflects the standard eleventh-century assumption that the senate was an integral part of the political order of things. More specific arguments, of the type which one might expect from an avid supporter of the senate, are conspicuously absent in the work of Attaleiates. There is, for example, no place here for the 'ideal' imperial counsellor, whose noble duty is to impose moral restraints on the otherwise omnipotent emperor. Moreover, Attaleiates severely criticizes the two main administrative organs of the Byzantine autocracy: the courts, and the exchequer. In place of the selective benefits conferred by these institutions, Attaleiates advocates his own brand of generosity – a generosity which ought to reach *all* levels of society; he insists that the job of the law is to protect, and not to diminish, the property of the individual. In his set of ideal imperial virtues he pays scant attention to the qualities most admired by the civilian aristocracy; even good sense and administrative efficiency (of paramount importance to Zonaras) lie somewhere on the

periphery. And thus it is that Attaleiates savagely, but wholly consistently, criticizes the government of Michael VII; a government of the Constantinopolitan élite, headed by the highly efficient demon of fiscal control, Nicephoritzes.

We should not, however, imagine that Attaleiates stood alone against a solid mass of Constantinopolitan aristocrats, all committed to the unified defence of their class. In the eleventh century the élite of the capital was neither socially nor politically homogeneous. In the first place, the dividing-line between the 'administrative bureaucracy' and the military aristocracy could still be crossed easily in either direction.[74] And in the second place, opinion among senators themselves was spread right across the political and ideological spectrum, from, say, Michael Cerularius at one end to Michael Psellus at the other. Attaleiates may not have come to identify with the senatorial class as a whole, but through his job and personal connections he probably became involved with certain sections of it; and he is more likely to have been attracted to Cerularius and Xiphilinus than to the intellectuals clustered round the *proedros* of the philosophers.[75] Attaleiates' closest associates among the civilian aristocracy were probably the imperial *ministeriales*, as well as those members of senatorial families who attempted, sometimes successfully, to enter the military administration.

Not that Attaleiates' attitudes to the military are any less complicated. Here we encountered an apparent contradiction: Attaleiates (like Zonaras) was wary of soldiers and commanders from noble families, and yet he (unlike Zonaras) fully accepted the aristocratic military ideal; hence his inclusion of nobility and valour among imperial virtues; and hence his insistence (even more vigorous than that of Bryennius) on 'chivalric' gallantry in battle. Again it seems that Attaleiates, while out of sympathy with the social group as a whole (in this instance, the military aristocracy), did nevertheless feel drawn to a particular section of it.

Thus we come to understand how it was that Attaleiates turned into such a passionate supporter of Nicephorus Botaneiates.

[74] The expression is that of Litavrin, 'Otvet retsenzentu', p. 172; cf. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav*, pp. 210–11.

[75] It is thus all the more unlikely that Attaleiates' 'friend' Basil Maleses was the same person as the poet and judge Maleses who corresponded with Psellus: see A. P. Kazhdan, Ya. N. Lyubarsky, 'Basile Malésès encore une fois', *BS*, XXXIV (1973), pp. 219ff.

Attaleiates fought to defend the property of the individual; he was an interested observer of the urban throng; no 'patriot of the capital', but an admirer of provincial towns; an educated jurist with a somewhat sceptical attitude to piety and monasticism; a writer whose 'naive naturalism', so different from the literary mannerisms of Psellus, was not imposed by the demands of pseudo-classical rhetoric, but rather grew out of his own avid curiosity. Attaleiates does indeed seem to be an unlikely apologist for Botaneiates – one of the leaders of the feudal aristocracy. Such a union would be hard to explain, were it not for the curious relationship between Botaneiates and the townspeople.

Byzantine towns in the eleventh century sadly failed to develop a political identity and authority of their own. Provincial towns were dominated by local magnates and by the local military administration; Constantinople was dominated by the court and the bureaucracy. The *History* of Attaleiates reflects the helplessness of the town-dweller who is forced, in his opposition to bureaucratic fiscalism, to form an alliance with the feudal lords. There was nowhere else to turn. So the town-dweller adopts the ideals of his protector, and sings the praises of nobility, valour and generosity. Nothing could sound more unnatural to the historian of the medieval west, accustomed to the classic contrast between Reynard and Isingrim. In the *History* of Attaleiates Reynard and Isingrim are fused into one person – indeed an unnatural union, which would ultimately cost the Byzantine Reynard his very existence. But he still had a while to live. The union of provincial towns with the forces of feudalism provided the social base for the empire of the Comneni. Attaleiates in his *History* shows us this union in the making.

III

Theodore Prodromus: a reappraisal

Theodore Prodromus is among the best known of Byzantine poets, and he is certainly one of the most popular with Byzantinists.[1] His life and his works have been scrutinized and elucidated in copious scholarly books and articles. And yet much about him remains obscure or disputed: important aspects of his biography are open to argument; debate continues as to which of the many works attributed to him are genuine, and which are spurious. Consequently, scholars have found it hard to provide any adequate general assessment of the man, his opinions, his qualities as a writer, and his place in the history of Byzantine literature. The aim of the present study is to produce just such a general assessment. As a necessary prelude to this, we start with a survey of the main areas of controversy, first on the question of attribution, and then on the facts of Prodromus' biography. One should state at the outset that the conclusions can only be tentative: Prodromus continues to attract much scholarly attention, and it would be rash to assume that no new and important facts will emerge.

Prodromus' works are normally divided into four groups: (a) those which are indubitably genuine; (b) poems contained in a fourteenth-century manuscript now located in Venice (Marc. XI, 22): (c) the 'Prodromic' poems in the vernacular, and (d) certain poems (attributed by their editor to Prodromus' pupil Nicetas Eugenianus) from a manuscript in the Medici library in Florence (Laur. Acquisti e doni, 341).[2] Let us start with an examination of the current arguments concerning the three 'dubious' groups of poems.

The poems in Marc. XI, 22 are indeed very similar to those which

[1] See Hunger, *Literatur*, II, pp. 113ff.

[2] For a detailed list of the works associated with Prodromus see W. Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 37–72.

are known to be genuine. They have long been attributed to Prodromus, and they continue to be published, or referred to, under his name.[3] But there are a number of difficulties in this identification:

1 One of the poems in the Venetian manuscript mentions the 'famous rhetor' Prodromus who is, apparently, already dead ('θανὼν παρὰ νεκρῶν κευθμῶνι') (*De Mang.* x, 27–32). The problem was first noted by C. Neumann, who proceeded to ignore it.[4] However, S. Papadimitriu, who edited the poems, cited these lines as proof that Theodore Prodromus could not possibly have been the author,[5] and Papadimitriu now has the support of the authoritative Prodromus-scholar Wolfram Hörandner.[6] There the matter would surely rest, were it not for the fact that Hörandner seems not to have considered an ingenious solution offered at the start of this century by the Russian, S. Shestakov. Shestakov suggests that the *prodromos* of this poem is not a name at all, but simply a common noun, a reference to the poet's 'precursor' (whom Shestakov, without evidence, identifies as Michael Italicus).[7] Even if one does not accept Shestakov's argument, there are intriguing possibilities in the suggestion that Prodromus/*prodromos* was not, in this instance, the poet himself, but a predecessor. Let us look at the context: 'I have no occupation. I am turning my last corner. I am ill – this is my lot, inherited from my father; and I fear that my days are numbered. Prodromus, that precursor of mine ('προδραμὼν ἐκεῖνος'), the famous rhetor, cries out to me from the grave . . .' Now, the father of Theodore Prodromus was also called Prodromus, and he was also a learned man (*Hist. Ged.* iv, 1–2; cf. lvid, 17–18). The real Theodore Prodromus refers to his father on several occasions, even mentioning that his father had given him advice (*Hist. Ged.* xxxviii, 71–7). Would it not

[3] P. Rassow, 'Zum byzantinischen-normanischen Krieg 1147–1149', *Mitteilung des Instituts für Österreichischen Geschichtsforschung*, lxii (1954), p. 215; P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, ii (Rome, 1957), pp. 23–4; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, i, pp. 522–3; and S. Bernardinello's *De Mang.*

[4] C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im XII. Jhdt.* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 46ff.

[5] S. D. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* (Odessa, 1905), pp. 21ff.

[6] W. Hörandner, 'Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung des Cod. Marc. xi. 22', *JÖB*, xvi (1967), pp. 93ff.; *idem*, 'Marginalien zum Manganeios Prodromos', *JÖB*, xxiv (1975), pp. 99–100; also in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 21–2.

[7] See S. P. Shestakov in *VV*, xiii (1906), pp. 420–1.

therefore be natural to interpret these lines from the Venetian manuscript as a reference to Prodromus, the poet's father? Theodore inherited his father's illness, and as he himself nears death he fears his father's fate (death), so he recalls his father's advice.

Thus the arguments of Papadimitriu cannot be used as final proof that the poems in Marc. XI, 22 were not, in fact, written by Theodore Prodromus.

2 The real Theodore Prodromus and the author of the poems in the Venice manuscript seem to have led rather different lives. The major discrepancy used to be found in the fact that the Venetian poems refer to events as late as 1166, whereas Prodromus was traditionally thought to have died around 1153. But as we shall see, Prodromus actually lived at least until the late 1160s. Nevertheless, the problem is not solved simply by adjusting the date of Prodromus' death: the biographical discrepancy remains the most serious obstacle to the identification of the two authors, and we shall examine it in more detail below.

3 The poems in the Venice manuscript are anonymous. Prodromus' name is mentioned only once, and not as a main heading, but in the middle of the collection, in circumstances which must be suspicious.[8] Yet *parts* of this corpus of poems can be found in two other manuscripts (Vind. philol. Gr. 321; Ambros. O 94 sup.), the first of which was written in the thirteenth century, *before* Marc. XI, 22; and in both of these manuscripts the poems are unequivocally attributed to Theodore Prodromus.[9] Thus the manuscript tradition confirms, rather than contradicts, his authorship.

4 The published poems from Marc. XI, 22 do not coincide with any of the poems known to be by Prodromus. However, the same manuscript (in its unpublished portion) does contain some of the latter.[10]

5 It is claimed that the Venetian poems differ from those of the genuine Prodromus in their rhythmic patterns.[11] The argument is intriguing, but cannot be decisive.

[8] See E. Kurtz, in *BZ*, XIII (1904), p. 227.
[9] Hörandner, 'Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung', p. 94.
[10] See Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, p. 22, n. 8.
[11] Hörandner, 'Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung', pp. 98–9.

Such has been the case against Prodromus' authorship of the poems in Marc. XI, 22. The evidence is far from flawless, and the case remains unproven. Yet the counter-arguments are equally inconclusive, and for the time being it is as well to treat these poems separately from the main corpus of Prodromus' works.[12] We shall refer to their author as 'Pseudo-Prodromus'.

We now turn to the poems written in vernacular, or 'colloquial' language: the 'Ptochoprodromica', or works of the 'Poor Prodromus'. Reaction to the first publication of four such poems[13] was that at least two of them could not possibly have been written by Prodromus. The two poems were addressed to Manuel I, in whose reign the author was apparently a young monk (in some manuscripts actually named as Hilarion, not Theodore). And one of the poems refers to events of the 1170s, by which time Theodore Prodromus was (as is generally believed) dead. The two other poems were written in the reign of John II, and thus they present no such problems in themselves, but they were excluded from the 'genuine' Prodromic corpus by association.[14]

These biographical arguments collapsed with the appearance of a critical edition of the poems.[15] The manuscript tradition showed that both the name Hilarion and the references to events of the 1170s were late insertions, added after the composition of the poems' main sections. However, the editors were still not happy that these were by Theodore Prodromus. They considered the style to be beneath his dignity.[16] Furthermore, even if 'Hilarion' is a later accretion, the author(s) of these vernacular poems present themselves as characters whose position and education are wholly

[12] They have been variously ascribed to 'Manganeius Prodromus', Nicetas Eugenianus, 'Pseudo-Prodromus', or simply an 'anonymous author'; see S. D. Papadimitriu, 'Ho Prodromos tou Markianou kōdikos', *VV*, X (1903), pp. 149ff; A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Heis kai monos Theodōros Prodromos', *Letopis' Ist.-Fil. Obshchestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossiyskom Universitete*, VII (1899), p. 396; E. Kurtz in *BZ*, XIII (1904), p. 227; V. Laurent, 'Les lieux impurs de l'Hirondelle', *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, IX (1957), pp. 264ff.

[13] E. Miller, E. Legrand, 'Poèmes en grec vulgaire de Théodore Prodrome', *Revue Archéologique*, XXVIII (1874), pp. 361–79; XXIX (1875), pp. 58–67, 183–93, 254–61; E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, I (Paris, 1880), pp. 38–124.

[14] See G. N. Khadzidakis, 'Peri tōn Prodromōn Theodōrou kai Hilariōnos', *VV*, IV (1897), pp. 101ff.; S. D. Papadimitriu, 'Hoi Prodromoi', *VV*, V (1898), pp. 91ff.

[15] D. C. Hesseling, H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (*Verhandelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, XL, 1) (Amsterdam, 1910; repr. Wiesbaden, 1968).

[16] Hesseling, Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques*, pp. 20ff.

incompatible with the known facts about the real Theodore Prodromus: one of the poems is ostensibly the work of a young and uneducated ('ἀγράμματος') monk who bemoans the arrogance and corruption of his superiors; another is a hen-pecked husband chronicling his domestic misery.

Yet in the manuscripts these poems are consistently attributed to Prodromus, as are several *other* poems in a vernacular mode.[17] One cannot reject Prodromus' authorship merely on grounds of taste. They are, surely, genre-exercises, and their supposed 'authors' are no more than literary personae. Thus neither the biographies of the 'authors' nor the textual history of the poems give any reasonable cause to doubt the attribution to Theodore Prodromus. Yet scholarly opinion is still divided on the issue. Most recently their authenticity (as works by Prodromus) has been questioned on the grounds that their metrical patterns consistently differ from those of the genuine Prodromic poems.[18] But might one not expect different versification in a different genre?

The case against Prodromus' authorship of the vernacular poems is far from proven.

The third set of problematic poems is that found in Laur. Acquisti e doni 341. The manuscript was discovered relatively recently by C. Gallavotti, who noted that it contained a number of previously unknown Prodromic poems.[19] However, although some of the poems are definitely by Prodromus, they are interspersed both with poems which could not possibly have been written by him (those on his death, by Nicetas Eugenianus), and with poems whose authorship has become a matter of dispute. The manuscript provides no clear

[17] E. Legrand, 'Poésies inédites de Théodore Prodrome', *REG*, IV (1891), pp. 72–3; A. Majuri, 'Una nuova poesia di Teodoro Prodromo in greco volgare', *BZ*, XXIII (1914–19), pp. 397–407.

[18] H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), p. 104, accepts the possibility of Prodromus' authorship, but prefers the idea that an anonymous poet imitated or parodied the master; Hörandner, in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 65–7, lists the vernacular poems among works 'dubiously', but not necessarily falsely, ascribed to Prodromus; M. J. Kyriakis, 'Poor Poets and Starving Literati in Twelfth Century Byzantium', *Byz.*, XLIV (1974), pp. 290–309, assumes that they are spurious. On metre, see M. Jeffreys, review of *Hist. Ged.*, in *BZ*, LXX (1977), pp. 105–7; H. and N. Eideneier, 'Zum Fünfzehnsilber der Ptochoprodromica', *Aphierōma ston kathēgētē Lino Politē* (Thessalonica, 1979), 1–7; W. Hörandner, 'Zur Frage der Metrik früher volkssprachliche Texte', *JOB*, XXXII, 3 (1982), pp. 375–81.

[19] C. Gallavotti, 'Novi Laurentiani codicis analecta', *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, IV (1935), pp. 203–36; *idem*, 'Laurentiani codicis altera analecta', *Atti della Acc. Naz. dei Lincei*, CCCXLVI, ser. VIII, *Rendiconti. Classe di sc. morali, storici e filolog.*, IV (Rome, 1949), pp. 352–79.

distinction between these three groups. Gallavotti was perplexed by the fact that several of the apparently Prodromic poems in this manuscript allude to events of the late 1150s, while Theodore Prodromus (as Gallavotti supposed) died in 1153. Rather than revise the date of Prodromus' death, Gallavotti suggested that these poems should be attributed to Nicetas Eugenianus.[20]

Gallavotti's quandary nicely illustrates the trap which has ensnared several scholars who try to track down the heritage of the real Theodore Prodromus. One uses a hypothetical biography of the poet in order to determine which poems are genuine, and which spurious; yet this biography is itself extracted from dubious interpretations of dubiously Prodromic poems. In the case of the poems from Laur. Acquisti e doni 341 the trap was sprung, for Gallavotti had failed to notice that many of them could also be found in other manuscripts (and even in printed editions) where they are unequivocally and uncontroversially ascribed to Prodromus. All of these poems have now been included in the corpus of Prodromus' historical verses, and the date of Prodromus' death has been moved forward accordingly, to around 1156–8.[21]

Yet this new date is only a *terminus post quem*. The *terminus ante quem* is provided, traditionally, by the poem in the Venice codex (*De Mang.* x) which is thought to refer to Prodromus' death. And this poem – again the argument becomes circular – is dated according to the last known dates of Prodromus' own work; that is to say, the *terminus ante quem* is made to coincide with (and is fixed only in relation to) the *terminus post quem*.

It seems appropriate to examine afresh the biography of Theodore Prodromus, starting with the date of his death.

In fact *De Mang.* x cannot have been written at least until 1162, for it mentions Manuel I's meeting with the 'satrap of Iconium', Kilij-Arslan II, who visited Constantinople in that year. Thus even if the poem does refer to Theodore Prodromus (which, as we have seen, is not certain), the latter may still have been alive in 1162.[22]

[20] These are: two epitaphs to Michael Palaeologus, who died around 1156; and verses on the death of a general, in which there is a reference to the victory at Philadelphia. Philadelphia was caught up in military operations during the years 1158–61. See Gallavotti, 'Laurentiani codicis', pp. 359–64.

[21] *Hist. Ged.* XII, XXIX, XLVIII, XLIX, LX, LXIX; see Hörandner's introduction, pp. 22, 32; the date is accepted by Hunger, *Literatur*, II, p. 114.

[22] See Kazhdan's review of *De Mang.* in *VV*, XXXV (1973), p. 254; accepted by Hörandner, 'Marginalien', p. 105.

This new dating also helps to resolve a number of difficult questions of chronology in Prodromus' historical poems: for Prodromus there refers to Manuel's expedition to Cilicia in 1158–61 (*Hist. Ged.* LXXV, 74–5) and to the funeral of Michael Palaeologus. Indeed, even 1162 is not a definite *terminus ante quem* for the poet's death: he wrote an epigram for the *sebastos* Andronicus Camaterus (*Hist. Ged.* LVII), who is known to have been active from 1157 until well into the 1170s.[23] And one poem attributed to Prodromus concerns the death of Alexius Contostephanus, who lived at least until 1166, and possibly for a decade after that.[24] Hörandner dismisses the poem as spurious,[25] but it seems a pity to dismiss the manuscript attribution merely in order to save a questionable interpretation of *De Mang.* X.

Theodore Prodromus lived into the 1160s, and perhaps into the 1170s as well. When was he born?

Papadimitriu placed the poet's birth at some point in the 1070s.[26] Kurtz dated it around 1096–8.[27] Hörandner suggests 1100±4.[28] Let us examine the evidence.

Perhaps the earliest of Prodromus' works to which one can give an approximate date are his five poems on the marriage of Alexius, son of Nicephorus Phorbenus (*Hist. Ged.* XLIII). In one of these poems Prodromus mentions that the wedding was attended by several of the bridegroom's relatives: his grandparents and uncles, who were 'monarchs'; his maternal grandmother the empress Irene Ducaena; and his father, the *panhypersebastos* Nicephorus (XLIIIa, 4–10). Nicephorus Phorbenus was married to Maria, daughter of Alexius I Comnenus. Alexius I was therefore the groom's grandfather, and if he is among the 'grandparents' who attended the wedding, then it must have taken place before his death in 1118. It cannot, however, have taken place very long *before* that date, for the groom's mother, Maria Comnena, was born on 19 September 1085, and by the time of the wedding her son was already,

[23] See below, pp. 203–4.

[24] See L. Sternbach, 'Spicilegium Prodromeanum', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetności*, ser. II, 24 (Cracow, 1906), pp. 349–60; also H. Grégoire, 'Notes épigraphiques', *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, LII (1909), no. 3, p. 158; J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), pp. 57–62.

[25] *Hist. Ged.*, p. 69.

[26] S. D. Papadimitriu, 'Ioann II, mitropolit Kievskiy, i Feodor Prodrom', *Letopis' Ist.-Fil. Obshchestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossiyskom Universitete*, X (1902), p. 25.

[27] E. Kurtz, 'Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos', *BZ*, XVI (1907), p. 69. See also Kurtz's reviews of Papadimitriu, *ibid.* p. 290, and *BZ*, XIII (1904), p. 535.

[28] Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, p. 23; followed by Hunger, *Literatur*, II, p. 113.

apparently, a soldier (XLIIIb, 24). The groom's father, Nicephorus, who definitely did attend the wedding, died either 'before 1123' or 'between 1118 and 1130'.[29] Thus even if Alexius Comnenus was absent, it seems reasonable to suppose that the poems were written shortly before or after (or during) the year 1118.

Next comes Prodromus' prose epithalamium on the wedding of two sons of Nicephorus Bryennius.[30] According to the chronicle of Zonaras the bride of the elder son was brought to Constantinople by Abasgian envoys who greeted the emperor John II immediately after his accession to the throne (Zon. III, p. 761/13–17). The wedding cannot have taken place long after 1118.[31]

We conclude that Theodore Prodromus probably started writing (or at any rate, started to produce his work for public occasions) around the year 1118.

Papadimitriu dates six works earlier than this. Yet his dating derives less from the evidence of the works themselves than from his prior assumption that Prodromus was born in the 1070s. These works are:

1 A dialogue entitled *Xenedemus*. Papadimitriu arbitrarily identifies the disputants, Xenedemus, Theocles and Hermagoras, as Prodromus himself, Michael Psellus and Theodore of Smyrna.[32]
2 A commentary on the canons of Cosmas and John of Damascus.[33] According to some of the manuscripts Prodromus wrote this commentary at the instigation of Constantine of Nicomedia,[34] whom Papadimitriu identifies (again!) as Michael Psellus. Surely the appropriate identification is with Constantine, metropolitan of Nicomedia, to whom Prodromus refers in a letter written during the reign of John II, and who is known from seals and documents.[35]

[29] *Hist. Ged.*, p. 403; P. Gautier, 'L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator', *REB*, XXVII (1969), pp. 252ff.; *idem*, 'Les lettres de Grégoire, higumène d'Oxia', *REB*, XXXI (1973), pp. 206–8. See also B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 237–8.

[30] *PG*, CXXXIII, cols. 1397–1406; see *Hist. Ged.* XL.

[31] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, p. 261, puts it after 1120; cf. E. Kurtz, 'Evstafiya Fessalonikiyskogo i Konstantina Manassi monodii na konchinu Nikifora Komnina', *VV*, XVII (1907), p. 283.

[32] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 110f., 245; on the dialogue see *Hist. Ged.*, p. 48; for criticism of Papadimitriu see Kurtz in *BZ*, XVI (1907), p. 291.

[33] See *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 44–5; Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, p. 237.

[34] See G. Mercati, 'Orphanotrophios', *BZ*, XXIII (1914–19), p. 132.

[35] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1280B; Laurent, *Corpus*, V, no. 1709. A Constantine, metropolitan of

3 Letters to Lizix and to Theodore. Papadimitriu conjectured that these letters were written soon after Prodromus completed his education, around 1090. But this date is entirely dependent on the hypothesis that Prodromus was born in the 1070s.[36]
4 In a monody to Stephen Scylitzes, metropolitan of Trebizond, Prodromus mentions a rebellion. Papadimitriu considered that the reference was to the revolt of Gregory Taronites in 1106.[37] In fact the revolt was that of Constantine Gabras, *c.* 1140.[38] A number of other poems and letters of Prodromus are linked by Papadimitriu to the events mentioned in the monody, and thus dated 1105–7.[39] All these works must, of course, be moved forward accordingly by at least thirty years.
5 Prodromus addressed two poems to a monk named Ioannicius (*Hist. Ged.* LXI–LXII). Papadimitriu dated these poems, like the others, to the years 1105–7, and he claimed that their addressee was the Ioannicius who accompanied Alexius I on some of his campaigns.[40] Again the identification is arbitrary.
6 Similarly, Papadimitriu dates to before 1107 some of Prodromus' letters to the *orphanotrophos* Alexius Aristenus, on the grounds that in them, as in the monody to Stephen Scylitzes, Prodromus speaks of his illness.[41] But as we have seen, the monody to Stephen was composed more than thirty years later than the date suggested by Papadimitriu; besides, there are other letters from Prodromus to Aristenus, and some, at least, of these were written in the reign of John II. The likelihood is that the 'early'

Nicomedia, participated in a synod in 1094, and his nephew (?) Constantine is mentioned in 1136: see P. Gautier, 'Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094)', *REB*, XXIX (1971), pp. 218–26; *idem*, 'Le typikon du Christ Saveur Pantocrator', *REB*, XXXII (1974), p. 127, n. 47.

[36] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 301ff. This Lizix was not the eleventh-century contemporary of Psellus, but a twelfth-century rhetor who also corresponded with Michael Italicus: see J. Gouillard, 'Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclasme', *Byz.*, XXXI (1961), p. 385, n. 1; P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos. Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1972), pp. 50–2.

[37] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, p. 103. On the revolt, see N. Adontz, *Etudes arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), pp. 289–91.

[38] L. Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzès, métropolitain de Trébizonde', *IRAIK*, VIII (1902), nos. 1–2, pp. 3ff.; A. Bryer, 'A Byzantine Family: the Gabrades, *c.* 979–1653', *Univ. of Birmingham Historical Journal*, XII (1970), no. 2, p. 177; A. P. Kazhdan, *Armyane v sostave gospodstvuyushchego klassa Vizantiyskoy imperii v XI–XII vv.* (Erevan, 1973), p. 91.

[39] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 104ff., 122ff., 304.

[40] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 120, 237, 330, 336.

[41] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 285ff.

letters were in fact written after 1140.[42] Moreover, Prodromus fell ill on more than one occasion,[43] so there is no need to assume that all his works which mention illness were written in a group at the same time.

Alexius Aristenus is a character about whom a certain amount is known. According to Prodromus, he held secular and ecclesiastical offices simultaneously, as *nomophylax* and *protekdikos*,[44] this Alexius is surely the same man as the canonist Alexius Aristenus who, according to Balsamon, contravened the sixth apostolic canon by combining ecclesiastical and secular offices, and who was instructed by a synod to relinquish one or the other.[45] Two pieces of evidence point to the time at which the canonist Alexius Aristenus lived: a note in a twelfth-century manuscript (Moscow, GIM no. 237/319) shows that Alexius was a *nomophylax* (like Prodromus' correspondent) in the reign of John II, for whom he compiled a nomocanon; and Balsamon states that Alexius was a contemporary of the patriarch Nicephorus II of Jerusalem (*c.* 1166–71).[46] One can hardly suppose that a contemporary of the patriarch Nicephorus II was already a prominent man before 1107. *All* Prodromus' letters to Alexius Aristenus must have been written much later than was claimed by Papadimitriu.

We conclude that none of Prodromus' extant works can date from much before 1118.[47] What, then, was the course of his early career?

It is unlikely that Prodromus wrote for the court of Alexius I. In a poem addressed to Manuel I he insists that he was never the servant of many masters: 'from my infancy and earliest youth ('ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βρεφικῆς καὶ πρώτης ἡλικίας') I knew only one court and one patron, the holy empress, grandmother of your Highness' (i.e.

[42] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 139ff., 260ff., 286–91, 327, 335, 341; cf. *Hist. Ged.*, p. 42.

[43] See Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 30–2. The illness of 1140 is surely different from that which he suffered shortly before his death some twenty years later.

[44] *PG*, CXXXIII, cols. 1245A, 1267A, 1274A.

[45] *PG*, CXXXVII, col. 45C.

[46] *PG*, CXXXVII, col. 640B; see J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès*, pp. 53–7. On Alexius see also A. Pavlov, 'K voprosu o khronologicheskom otnoshenii mezhdu Aristinom i Zonaroyu kak pisatelyami tolkovaniy na tserkovnyye pravila', *ZhMNP*, CCCIII (Jan. 1896), pp. 172ff.; A. Garzya, 'Encomio inedito di Niceforo Basilace per Alessio Aristeno', *Byz. Forsch.*, I (1966), p. 94.

[47] According to Hörandner (*Hist. Ged.*, p. 26) 1122.

Irene Ducaena), after whose death Prodromus served Manuel's father, John II.[48] Prodromus himself, therefore, implies that he never served at the court of Alexius I. And the implication is confirmed by what we know of his work. Certainly he does, from time to time, in later poems, mention Alexius' campaigns,[49] but no extant poem is specifically dedicated to Alexius or to any of his deeds. In the poem on the marriage of Alexius, the son of Nicephorus Phorbenus, Prodromus reserves most of his praise for the groom's grandmother, Irene Ducaena ('the best of empresses'), not for her husband Alexius I.

Indeed, most of Prodromus' early works are in some way connected with Irene and her circle: with the families of her daughter, Anna Comnena, and of her son, the *sebastocrator* Andronicus (both of whom opposed John II).[50] This group of writings would include: the poems on the marriage of Alexius (Phorbenus); the epithalamium to the sons of Anna Comnena and Nicephorus Bryennius; a monody to the *sebastocrator* Andronicus;[51] and a poem to Irene Ducaena on Andronicus' death (*Hist. Ged.* II). Perhaps one should add to this list a set of hexameters to Anna Comnena, which contain a reference to the 'great empress' – that is, Irene (*Hist. Ged.* XXXVIII, 112). At about the same time Prodromus wrote a monody to Gregory Camaterus, whose wife was from the family of the Ducae.[52]

These works must have been written while Irene Ducaena was still alive. Unfortunately, her death is variously dated to 1123,[53] post-1125,[54] or 1133.[55] How does one resolve the problem of chronology in relation to Prodromus?

Prodromus implies that he only started to write for John II after Irene's death. His first extant works dedicated to John do not appear until the early 1130s, with a group of poems on John's campaigns

[48] Majuri, 'Una nuova poesia', p. 399/15–27.

[49] A. Majuri, 'Anecdota Prodromea dal Vat. Gr. 303', *Rendiconti della Acc. dei Lincei, cl. di sc. morali*, ser. 5, XVII (1908), pp. 527/1–2; 541/13–16; cf. *Hist. Ged.*, XXV, 10–11; XLIV, 94–5.

[50] F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, I (Paris, 1900), pp. 273ff.

[51] Majuri, 'Anecdota Prodromea', pp. 521–8.

[52] Majuri, 'Anecdota Prodromea', p. 531. On Gregory see D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), p. 125, n. 6; Skoulatos, *Les personnages*, pp. 109–11.

[53] Kurtz, 'Unedierte Texte', p. 74.

[54] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, p. 387.

[55] Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 15, n. 2; accepted by Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès*, pp. 304–5, n. 90; and by Gautier, 'L'obituaire', pp. 245–50; criticism from Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, p. 188, n. 23.

against Castamon (*Hist. Ged.* III–VII).[56] John's earlier victories are mentioned by Prodromus retrospectively.

We may thus tentatively reconstruct Prodromus' early career as follows: in about 1118, or perhaps a little later, he became a poet at the court of Irene Ducaena, where he remained until Irene's death. He then started to 'serve' John II. Since his first poems for John were written around 1132, we should probably accept this as the most likely time of Irene's death, and of Prodromus' consequent change of patron.

When, then, was Prodromus born? He began to write for Irene from his 'infancy and earliest youth'. And Alexius (Phorbenus) for whom he wrote his earliest extant poems, in about 1118, was his junior. Prodromus cannot have been born much before, or much after, 1100.

The poet's obituary by Nicetas Eugenianus hints at a similar date. Eugenianus states that Prodromus came to live in an alms-house not because of old age, but because of constant illness.[57] Even if this occurred only after the death of John II in 1143 (see below), then again one could hardly put Prodromus' birth much earlier than 1100.

Prodromus calls Stephen Scylitzes his friend and teacher ('διδάσκαλος').[58] Scylitzes is reckoned to have been aged about thirty in 1126,[59] so that he was born in 1096. Prodromus is highly unlikely to have been older than him.

There is therefore a fair amount of evidence indicating that Prodromus was born *c.* 1100. However, the evidence is as yet inadequate to overturn Papadimitriu's strongest argument in favour of a much earlier date, in the 1070s. The argument runs as follows. In a poem aimed at a certain Barys, who had apparently accused him of heresy, Prodromus mentions that he (Prodromus) had been raised and educated by his grandfather and uncle. Papadimitriu identifies the uncle as John II, metropolitan of Kiev

[56] Kurtz, 'Unedierte Texte', p. 72, dated John's first campaign against Castamon to 1130; Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 151–2, puts it at 1133/4; Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 85, n. 3, locates it in December, 1132.

[57] L. Petit, 'Monodie de Nicétas Eugénianos sur Théodore Prodrome', *VV*, IX (1902), p. 460/11.

[58] Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome', p. 10/142.

[59] Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome', pp. 3–4; Kurtz in *BZ*, XIII (1904), p. 536; Papadimitriu would reckon Scylitzes to be older, but his chronology is marred by the faults discussed above.

from 1077. Consequently, Prodromus must have been born at least a few years prior to 1077.[60]

Kurtz accepted the identification of Prodromus' uncle with John II of Kiev, but nevertheless produced a different interpretation of the passage: Prodromus was educated not specifically by his grandfather and uncle, but by the 'πατέρες' – fathers – mentioned a few lines earlier.[61] This reading is rather forced, and not obviously preferable to that of Papadimitriu. But if Papadimitriu is right, then Prodromus cannot possibly have been born as late as 1100, the argument in favour of such a date collapses, and we have to find alternative explanations for all the evidence presented above. However, Papadimitriu's argument may be challenged not only on grounds of syntax. His central claim is that Prodromus' uncle was the metropolitan John II of Kiev. This identification has come to be generally accepted as fact. Let us re-examine the evidence on which it is based.

In his defence against Barys Prodromus points to his pious forebears, whose faith was demonstrated not only in their deeds, but even in their names: his grandfather bore the name of Prodromus ('Προδρομωνύμου' – the Precursor, as John the Baptist), and his uncle, named Christus ('Χριστὸν ὠνομασμένον') was a bishop of the Russian land ('γῆς 'Ρωσικῆς πρόεδρον'); by these forebears Prodromus was brought up in piety (*Hist. Ged.* LIX, 184–9).

John II, metropolitan of Kiev, is the author of a set of responses to questions on canon law. In the title of this work, John is described as being 'named as' (or 'after', or 'by') 'the prophet of Christ' ('*narechennyy prorokom Khrista*'). The commonly accepted hypothesis, which was most fully elaborated by Papadimitriu,[62] is that *prorokom Khrista* (prophet of Christ) is derived, through a process of translation and distortion, from the name Christus Prodromus. The theory is ingenious, but not unassailable.

In the first place, why should a Kievan metropolitan sign a work on canon law with his secular name? The designation 'John, called Christus Prodromus' is hardly plausible.

One might avoid this objection by simplifying the hypothesis,

[60] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 14ff.

[61] Kurtz in *BZ*, XIII (1904), p. 537; accepted by Hörandner, *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 23–4.

[62] Papadimitriu, 'Ioann II, mitropolit Kievskiy', pp. 2ff.

and taking the Slavonic as a translation merely of 'John, called Prodromus'. But the description 'named after the prophet of Christ' could apply to *any* John named after John the Baptist, not just to John Prodromus. If we can no longer assume that the Slavonic reflects the name *Christus* Prodromus, then the hypothesis that this was Prodromus' uncle becomes immeasurably weaker – certainly too weak to overturn the arguments in favour of a later date for Prodromus' birth.

In the second place, are we sure that Prodromus' uncle really was called Christus? The name is not otherwise known to have been used in Byzantium (despite the Modern Greek Christo). In fact, in the works of Prodromus and his contemporaries, Christus is used as a synonym of *Manuel*. Manuel I is said by Prodromus to 'have the names of God' (*Hist. Ged.* XXX, 359), and is called 'Christ-named' ('χριστοκλητώνυμος', 'χριστώνυμος') by other twelfth-century writers,[63] rather as Prodromus uses 'χαριτώνυμος' for John (e.g. *Hist. Ged.* VIII, 61; XIV, 45; XIX, 135).

In all probability, therefore, Prodromus' uncle was called not Christus (or John), but Manuel. In order to locate him among Russian bishops, one should not look to the metropolitan John II. One should seek a Manuel. A perfectly appropriate candidate, for example, might be the Greek Manuel, bishop of Smolensk in the mid twelfth century.[64] The question needs to be examined further. The main point, for our present purposes, is that we are by no means obliged to accept the identification of Theodore Prodromus' uncle with John II of Kiev, and consequently we are relieved of the obligation to accept that Prodromus was born a quarter of a century earlier than all the other evidence suggests.

We conclude that Prodromus was born in about 1100. By 1120 he was writing for the court of Irene Ducaena, and from 1131 for the emperor John II. From then until John's death in 1143 Prodromus provided the official verse celebrations of Byzantine military victories; and he marked with a poem his patron's decease (*Hist. Ged.* XXV–XXIX).

Prodromus' career over the next few years (the early years of the

[63] e.g. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 61/7; 67/71. Also Gregory Antiochus in *Fontes*, II, p. 211/9.

[64] On Manuel see V. L. Yanin, *Aktovyye pechati Drevney Rusi*, I (Moscow, 1970), pp. 57–8; L. V. Alekseyev, *Smolenskaya zemlya* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 20–5.

reign of Manuel I) is obscure. No laudatory verses to the emperor survive from this period. It seems probable, therefore, that Prodromus, despite his petition to Manuel,[65] lost his favoured position at court. What does survive is a portion of Prodromus' correspondence: two letters to Michael Italicus, metropolitan of Philippopolis (one dated 1144–5, the other *c.* 1147);[66] and a letter to Gregory, abbot of a monastery on the island of Oxeia.[67] It may also have been during these years that Prodromus wrote his *Vita* of St Meletius the Younger, and the monody to Scylitzes.[68]

Prodromus spent this period in Constantinople, at the church of the Holy Apostles[69] – which is probably the alms-house mentioned by Eugenianus. When Stephen Scylitzes returned to the capital, Prodromus received him at home, so his move must have occurred subsequently.[70]

In about 1149 Prodromus again set his pen to work on military themes, with poems on the deaths of Stephen Contostephanus, Manuel Anemas and Constantine Camytzes (*Hist. Ged.* XLVIII–LI, LIV, LXIV).[71] And at approximately the same time he wrote several official eulogies to the emperor (*Hist. Ged.* XXX–XXXIII). But still he could not regain his former position at court. Until his death (*c.* 1170?) he remained at the church of the Holy Apostles, producing occasional verses for the Byzantine nobility. Prodromus died a monk, with the name of Nicholas.[72] According to the obituary of the 'philosopher Theodore Prodromus' composed by a certain Peter, Prodromus had lived to a great age.

[65] See above, n. 48.

[66] The first in Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 296–8; on the date, see *ibid.*, pp. 197ff; the second in R. Browning, 'Unpublished Correspondence between Michael Italicus, Archbishop of Philippopolis, and Theodore Prodromus', *Byzantinobulgarica*, I (1962), repr. in Browning, *Studies*, no. VI, pp. 287ff. Browning dates this letter to 1146–7, Papadimitriu to 1147–51. A letter of Italicus to Prodromus (Gautier, *Michel Italikos*, pp. 99–100) is too vague to be dated with confidence.

[67] Gautier, 'Les lettres de Grégoire', pp. 225–7. The letter was sent in 1146.

[68] See *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 41, 45. The monody must have been written after 1140, since earlier Scylitzes could not have departed for Trebizond. A *Vita* of St Meletius by Nicholas of Methone appeared in 1141; the two *Vitae* are independent of one another, which leads us to suspect that they were probably written at more or less the same time; see V. Vasil'yevsky, *Zhitiye Meletiya Miupol'skogo, PPS*, XVII (1886), pp. 40–69.

[69] Browning, 'Unpublished Correspondence', p. 284/54.

[70] Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome', pp. 12–13, ll. 209–11.

[71] On Camytzes see Gautier, 'L'obituaire', p. 256; for the dates see Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 352–62.

[72] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Heis kai monos Theodōros Prodromos' (*op. cit.*, n. 12), pp. 399ff.

Now that we have traced at least the general outlines of Prodromus' life, let us return to the problematic poems of the Venice codex, MS. Marc. XI, 22.[73] They contain references to events in the years 1142–66.[74] The earliest poem concerns the death of the *sebastocrator* Andronicus, and the latest is dedicated to the marriage of Theodora Comnena to John Contostephanus in 1165–6.[75]

There are many striking similarities between Theodore Prodromus and the 'Pseudo-Prodromus' of the Venice codex. They were contemporaries; they wrote similar types of poems; they even, apparently, shared a similar speech-defect (a stutter); they wrote about the same range of events, and addressed their work to a similar range of people.[76] And yet, it seems, they led different lives.

Theodore Prodromus served Irene Ducaena, and then her son, the emperor John II. Pseudo-Prodromus, on the other hand, spent at least twelve years in the service of the *sebastocratorissa* Irene, wife of Manuel I's brother Andronicus (*De. Mang.* I, 8). When exactly was this period of service? We lack the evidence for a firm answer, but there are sufficient hints upon which to construct a hypothesis. In a poem addressed to Manuel I Pseudo-Prodromus tells us that he has just returned from Bulgaria in time for a great celebration for the emperor (*De Mang.* III). Papadimitriu suggests that this poem marks the end of its author's service with Irene, and that the celebration was for the birth of Manuel's daughter Maria. Maria, according to Pseudo-Prodromus, was born 'in the tenth cycle' ('ἐν κύκλῳ τῷ δεκάτῳ'). Papadimitriu interprets this to mean the tenth year of Manuel's reign, and concludes that Pseudo-Prodromus joined Manuel in 1153, having served at the court of the *sebastocratorissa* Irene during the years 1140–52.[77] However, Pseudo-

[73] See in Papadimitriu, 'Ho Prodromos tou Markianou kōdikos'; E. Miller, 'Ex Theodori Prodromi carminibus ineditis', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. grecs*, II (Paris, 1881); and Bernardinello's edition, *De Mang.*

[74] Papadimitriu, 'Ho Prodromos tou Markianou kōdikos', p. 116; also Kurtz in *BZ*, XIII (1904), p. 227.

[75] C. Castellani, *Epitalamio di Teodoro Prodromo per le nozze di Teodora Comnena e Giovanni Contostefano* (Venice, 1888). Castellani does suggest 1172 as the date of one poem in the Venice manuscript: see his *Epitalamio di Teodoro Prodromo per le nozze di Giovanno Comneno e . . . Taronita* (Venice, 1900), p. 6; but his criteria are unclear.

[76] See S. Shestakov in *VV*, XIII (1906), p. 421; Petit, 'Monodie de Nicétas Eugénianos', p. 450; Majuri, 'Una nuova poesia', p. 407.

[77] Papadimitriu, 'Ho Prodromos tou Markianou kōdikos', p. 106, nos. XXII–XXIII; J. Rácz, *Bizánci költemények Mánuel czászar magyar hadjáratairol* (Budapest, 1941), pp. 15, 20.

Prodromus also wrote poems for Manuel in 1146–7 and 1151. Irene was out of favour with Manuel, and it is unlikely that the poet would have written for the emperor while still being retained by Irene. One can solve this chronological problem if one takes the 'tenth cycle' to mean the tenth indiction-year, rather than the tenth year of Manuel's reign.[78] In this case Maria's birth would be put back to 1146–7, and Pseudo-Prodromus' stint with Irene would stretch for twelve years (or more) before then. By this reckoning Pseudo-Prodromus served Irene from not later than 1134, until 1146. The chronology is bound to be speculative, especially in the absence of a proper critical edition of all Pseudo-Prodromus' poems. Yet it does seem plausible that at the time when Theodore Prodromus was 'poet-in-residence' at the court of John II, and then an invalid at the church of the Holy Apostles, Pseudo-Prodromus was under the patronage of John's daughter-in-law, the *sebastocratorissa* Irene.

Eventually Pseudo-Prodromus abandoned Irene (we know nothing of his reasons) and returned from her residence in Bulgaria to put his talents at the disposal of Manuel I. He proclaims to his new patron that his life until that moment had flowed past in vain ('μάτην παρερρύη'): 'I am an old man, as my grey hairs testify, but for me the brightness of your presence outshines everything that I have previously experienced'.[79] We possess a poem with which the 'real' Theodore Prodromus presents himself to Manuel,[80] and it is a far more subdued plea, containing not the slightest hint of any previous link with the *sebastocratorissa* Irene.

Both poets ended their days in monastic retreat. Pseudo-Prodromus chose the Mangana monastery of St George, which he had persistently begged Manuel to allow him to enter;[81] Theodore Prodromus never even mentions the Mangana monastery,[82] and his own retreat was the church of the Holy Apostles. Pseudo-Prodromus states frequently that he was an old man *before* he

[78] See B. Keil, 'Die Monatcyklen der byzantinischen Kunst in spätgriechischer Literatur', *Wiener Studien*, XI (1889), p. 106.

[79] E. Miller, 'Poèmes historiques de Théodore Prodrome', *Revue Archéologique*, XXVI (1873), p. 155/39–45.

[80] Majuri, 'Una nuova poesia'.

[81] *De Mang. passim*; also Kyriakis, 'Poor Poets and Starving Literati', pp. 291–300.

[82] A copy of Prodromus' commentaries on the canons of Cosmas and John of Damascus was later donated to the monastery by Gabriel Monotropus (Moscow, GIM, no. 210/311), but this is the only known connection between Theodore Prodromus and this monastery.

entered the monastery.[83] Both Michael Italicus and Nicetas Eugenianus insist that Theodore Prodromus was *not* old when he took the same step.

On the evidence currently available, therefore, it seems that Theodore Prodromus and Pseudo-Prodromus led very similar, but not identical lives.[84] It is, however, quite conceivable that fuller publication of their respective works would serve to eliminate the discrepancies between them.

Such, then, are the sparse and painfully-extracted facts that the available evidence yields concerning the career of Theodore Prodromus. Still less is known about his background and about his position in Byzantine society.

Prodromus' social circumstances have hardly been investigated at all. The only substantial discussion of the topic comes from Hörandner in his edition of Prodromus' historical poems, and in a brief article by the Polish scholar H. Kapessowa; and neither contribution can be reckoned wholly satisfactory. Kapessowa[85] sees Prodromus as an uprooted intellectual, a man who perceived the faults in the existing order, but who was incapable of fighting to eradicate them. Quite apart from the evident anachronism, Kapessowa's argument is vitiated by its reliance on the contrast between two 'different' authors: Prodromus the aristocratic intellectual, and the 'poor' Prodromus of the vernacular poems (whose biography Kapessowa inexplicably supplements with information from the poems in the Venice codex). But as we have seen, Theodore Prodromus and Ptochoprodromus were not necessarily two different people; and even if they were different people, the 'autobiographical' information in the vernacular poems should not be taken literally.

Hörandner examines in some depth the (social) function of the historical poems (*Hist. Ged.*, pp. 79–109). But he limits himself almost exclusively to the discussion of a single theme: the image, or the idea, of the emperor (*Kaiserbild, Kaiseridee*). He concludes that the poems convey a purely conventional view of the imperial ideal, based on the traditional virtues of piety and philanthropy.

[83] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 24ff.; cf. *De Mang*. IV.

[84] See also Hörandner, 'Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung', pp. 95–7.

[85] H. Kapessowa, 'Biedaczyna Prodromos – człowiek "niepotrzebny"', *Meander*, XII (1957), pp. 269–82.

Prodromus, in Hörandner's view, wrote wholly formal, wholly official eulogies uncontaminated by the author's own predilections and opinions. Prodromus simply reproduces Hellenistic and Roman commonplaces.

Once again we encounter the problem so crucial to the understanding of Byzantine literature. Scholars note the continuity, the conventionality of form and expression, and conclude that there can have been no significant individuality of content. Was Theodore Prodromus, one of the most eminent and prominent of Byzantine writers, really no more than a hack versifier, a regurgitator of banal clichés? Can one not legitimately see him as a poet and thinker in his own right?

Let us examine his background. He was born in Constantinople;[86] his family was not entirely destitute ('χαμαιζήλου');[87] his fate in life, so he continually tells us, was wretched, dismal by comparison with that of his distinguished acquaintances;[88] he perpetually moans about his poverty.[89] Yet one need not take these complaints too literally: Prodromus owned a house in Constantinople, and he may also have had servants;[90] he owned a suburban villa and lands, and a vineyard.[91]

In other words Prodromus, though no aristocrat, was comfortably placed as a petty landowner. It was the petty landowners who provided the main constituency, the power-base, for the Comnenian dynasty; and Prodromus, typically for a man in his position, was originally marked for a career in the army. He informs us that his father had wanted him to become a soldier (to become an artisan was beneath consideration), but that ill health had forced him to take up scholarship and writing (*Hist. Ged.* XXXVIII, 11–40); he envies the soldiers of John II, able to fight their emperor's battles while he, Prodromus, can only stay at home and pray for victory (*Hist. Ged.* XVII, 5–10).

Indeed, Prodromus was fascinated by everything connected with

[86] Petit, 'Monodie de Nicétas Eugénianos', p. 459/25–8.

[87] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1297A.

[88] Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome', p. 6/7–15.

[89] e.g. *Hist. Ged.* XV, 83–5; XXIV, 16–19; Hesseling, Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques*, p. 45/82–3; see also G. Gianelli, 'Un altro "calendario metrico" di Teodoro Prodromo', *EEBS*, XXV (1955), p. 168.

[90] Hesseling, Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques*, p. 31/36.

[91] Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom*, pp. 142, n. 55; 159, n. 98. The properties were later relinquished.

war, and he glorified its practitioners far more eloquently and insistently than was required by mere convention. Convention, for example, demanded praise of the emperor as victor in a rather abstract and elevated sense;[92] but Prodromus dwells on the actual deeds of John II on the field of battle (*Hist. Ged.* XI, 141–5, 172; XV, 7, 47; XVI, 16–24).

Even more telling are Prodromus' eulogies to Byzantine aristocrats, for here also he positively revels in military attributes and achievements, going far beyond the obligatory clichés, and going far beyond what was normal among his contemporaries. This can be illustrated by comparing Prodromus' eulogies with the eulogies composed by one of his contemporaries, Nicholas Callicles.

Callicles does allude, rather vaguely, to the victories of John II over the barbarians,[93] but he says nothing whatsoever about the military exploits of Byzantine noblemen: John Arbatenus is praised for his fame, his glorious ancestry, and his happy fortune; Andronicus Palaeologus for his ancestral estate and great allotment; if one were to read only Callicles' account, one might never guess that Gregory Camaterus had ever been near a battlefield; and when the poet does mention a sword (in a poem on Doceianus), then it is the 'sword of death'.[94] The only man praised for his gallantry in battle is the *sebastos* Roger, but he (as Callicles takes care to point out) was not Byzantine, but Norman in origin.[95]

Prodromus' poetry takes us into a completely different milieu: the two sons of Nicephorus Bryennius are both excellent riders, hunters and soldiers; Alexius Phorbenus is a tall and mighty warrior; Stephen Contostephanus is famous for his military skill; Alexius Contostephanus has an excellent sword; Manuel Anemas is 'a wise general, a great tower of the Romans' (*PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1402A; *Hist. Ged.* XXXIX, 70; XLIIIa, 12; XLIIIb, 24; LIII, 27; LXVI, 2; LIV, 3). Then there is the family of the *sebastocrator* Andronicus, brother of Manuel I: Andronicus himself is a great hero and general, a strong horseman, a noble hunter, a man with magnificent armour and splendid horses (XLV, 71–84, 177, 183);[96] and in a poem on the birth of Andronicus' son, Alexius, Prodromus expatiates upon the

[92] See Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 94–7.
[93] Nicola Callicle, *Carmi* (Naples, 1980), II, 21–4; XXXI, 6.
[94] *Ibid.*, I, 8–14; X, 7; XVIII; XXI; XXII, 1.
[95] *Ibid.*, XX, 10.
[96] See also Majuri, 'Anecdota Prodromea', p. 542/30.

ideal education for a young aristocrat: he should learn to become a keen ball-player, a fine hunter and a first-class marksman, and he must be trained for battle so that he will acquire the skill and strength to slay barbarians; when he grows up he can look forward to obtaining fine, solid armour, a javelin, bow and arrows, and a shining double-bladed sword (XLIV, 74–81, 171–8). Even scholarly disciplines such as Philosophy, Grammar and Rhetoric are presented by Prodromus as warriors in battle-formation, firing arrows and catapulting stones.[97]

War is not the only object of Prodromus' admiration: he has a very high regard for wealth. He dreams of copious servants to take care of the horses, to serve his food and wine, to dress him in silk garments (XXIV, 56–65). He revels in describing the inexhaustible riches of the infant Alexius (XLIV, 150–5); clothes stitched in gold and decorated with emeralds and precious stones; great estates yielding a comfortable income ('χώρας λαμπρὰς ὑποτελεῖς'), high-roofed houses, a mass of armed servants, and a crowd of grooms.[98]

In another poem Prodromus savours the wealth of the *sebastocratorissa* Irene (XLV, 24–5): porphyry, gold-stitched robes, soft couches. Writing to his former colleague Lizix, who has evidently risen to an important position, Prodromus enviously refers to his rich clothes, his luxurious cuisine, his elegant expeditions on a horse with a silver harness, while Prodromus himself has to travel on foot.[99]

Wealth is not in itself a virtue. When Prodromus discusses the matter in principle, he favours the golden mean, the moderate Hellenes rather than the excessively and crudely rich Phoenicians; and he asserts that freedom is more important than wealth and power. But regardless of the defects of some rich people, Prodromus sees no merit at all in poverty: poverty is the source of incalculable evil; it is because of poverty that men turn to sacrilege, to the desecration of tombs, to plunder.[100]

[97] K. A. Manaphes, 'Theodōrou tou Prodromou Logos eis ton patriarchēn Konstantinoupoleōs Iōannēn IX ton Agapēton', *EEBS*, XLI (1974), pp. 233–4, ll. 173–90.

[98] cf. *Iliad*, XIV, 333, where Achilles boasts of his 'possession ('κτῆσιν'), retinue and high-roofed house'; the transition from 'κτῆσις' in Homer to 'χῶραι ὑποτελεῖς' in Prodromus nicely illustrates the way in which classical allusions could acquire a distinctly medieval meaning in Byzantine literature.

[99] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1286A.

[100] *PG*, CXXXIII, cols. 1294B, 1317–18.

Nobility is another quality which Prodromus holds in the highest esteem. Again, his attitude is well illustrated in his poem on the birth of Alexius (XLIV): any family rejoices at the birth of a child, but how much greater is the celebration when the child is born to a noble family ('γένους εὐγενοῦς'). So says Prodromus at the start of the poem (ll. 1–9), and he concludes it in the same vein, with the hope that Alexius may grow up to find a wife worthy of his noble family (l. 179); the emperor John II is described as the leader of his family ('τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγός'), a great tree which spreads forth stout and noble branches. To be born a Comnenus is to be born in command (ll. 35–45).

In the light of these observations one may wish to revise Hörandner's assessment of the degree of 'traditionalism' in Prodromus' imperial ideal. Hörandner, as we have noted, views Prodromus' *Kaiserbild*, or *Kaiseridee*, as purely conventional. In fact, however, Prodromus does not simply regurgitate a standard configuration of standard ideals. On the contrary, his opinions are specifically appropriate to, and typical of, twelfth-century Byzantium. We have already seen how, in the late eleventh century, such authors as Theophylact of Ohrid and Michael Attaleiates altered the traditional 'Mirror of Princes' by introducing two new essential elements: nobility of lineage, and military prowess.[101] *This* tradition, not ancient models, is the appropriate context in which to view Prodromus. Similarly, when Prodromus stresses the principle of legitimacy, of rightful succession, he is echoing a typically Comnenian dynastic idea, not a Roman or Hellenistic commonplace.[102] Prodromus may deal in conventional concepts, but their meaning for him is specific.

Let us examine another apparent commonplace: inequality, or variegation, is natural and essential; just as a melody requires both high and low notes, and rhythm requires strong and weak notes, and harmony is achieved through a combination of unequal notes ('τῇ παραπλοκῇ τῶν ἀνισοτόνων'), so through the inequality of things ('τοῖς ἀνισότησι τῶν πραγμάτων') Providence makes life miraculously coherent.[103] Natural opposites, things which differ in

[101] See above, pp. 38–40.
[102] For references in Prodromus see Hörandner, *Hist. Ged.*, p. 97. On the Comnenian context see A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich, 1965), pp. 15–32; Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav*, pp. 72–8.
[103] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1295A.

their nature ('διίσταται φύσει') are united by love, or friendship ('φιλία'), just as spring mediates between winter and summer; Empedocles was mistaken, for the world is formed and guided not by enmity, but by love.[104]

It would be easy to dismiss such sentiments as commonplace. Yet they may also be taken to express Prodromus' social views, for these 'commonplaces' (that the natural order consists in inequality transcended by friendship or love) in fact confirm and amplify Prodromus' statements on nobility and wealth. In the twelfth century the term 'φιλία' (friendship) came to be used in a highly specific sense: it signified the relationship between a vassal and his lord. Nicetas Choniates, for example, uses the word consistently in this sense: Manuel I urges that the Italians living around Ancona should be drawn 'into friendship' – these people, adds Choniates, are called 'λίζιοι', vassals. 'Friends' appear in a list alongside shield-bearers and servants. Branas' army is composed mostly of relatives and 'friends'. When Choniates speaks of the 'spark of friendship' with regard to Manuel I, he implies a relationship of trust, not cordiality (Nic. Chon., pp. 201/12–13; 131/88–9; 386/88; 228/44–5). Twelfth-century 'φιλία' had acquired quasi-feudal connotations.

Prodromus wholeheartedly supported the nobility. O, the injustice, he complains, when some jumped-up son of a cook, an idiot who hardly knows how to blow his own nose, rides in grandeur along the main streets, and possesses magnificent houses, horses, mules and gold bars (like Croesus), while the scion of Codrus, a man as learned as Plato, cannot even afford one mule for himself![105] And how dare ignorant artisans treat wise men of noble houses ('τῶν γενῶν κοσμίων') like slaves, dishing out blows and vulgar curses![106]

Prodromus despised the mere artisan, yet he was often forced to behold with envious eyes a cobbler or other such manual worker who had amassed considerable wealth (*Hist. Ged.* XXXVIII, 39–40, 68–74).[107] Indeed, in the twelfth century a merchant or craftsman might easily be better off than a 'wise man' who was largely dependent on the generosity of the court and of the great nobles.[108]

[104] *PG*, CXXXIII, cols. 1324–7. [105] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1293B. [106] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1335B.
[107] cf. also Hesseling, Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques*, p. 76/70–1.
[108] e.g. *Hist. Ged.* LXXI, 90.

Prodromus is not the only author to find this situation irksome.[109]

Nor is Prodromus troubled only by the difference in wealth. In a eulogy to Isaac, son of Alexius I, personified Philosophy complains about Ares: the god of war has taken for himself all the best, most noble, most regal of men; Philosophy is left with the remnants – private citizens and *artisans* ('τὴν ἰδιωτείαν καὶ τὴν χειρωναξίαν'); Ares has nurtured such men as Cambyses, Xerxes and Cyrus, while Philosophy had to make do with the money-changer Diogenes, or the boat-builder Zeno. Certainly there had been some philosophers of noble birth, men like Alexander the Great, Cato or Marcus Aurelius; but they were always few in number, and all of them belonged to the distant past ('τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν χρόνοις').[110] John Tzetzes speaks with similar distaste about the cultural intrusiveness of the lower orders: nowadays everybody writes verses – women and children, every artisan ('πᾶς βάναυσος'), and the offspring of barbarians.[111]

In the twelfth century not only wealth, but also culture, had been to a significant extent appropriated by the townspeople. Social change and social conflict helped to generate and fuel conflicts of ideas: heretical movements gathered fresh impetus; materialistic ideas found new adherents.[112] Through all this Theodore Prodromus remained firmly on the side of the nobility.

It is largely because of these convictions that Prodromus is so fulsome in his praise of the Comneni. His panegyrics should not be interpreted simply as the products of professional obsequiousness. Rather he saw in the Comnenian dynasty the embodiment of a particular social ideal, and his praise is largely sincere.[113] For Prodromus, as for his younger contemporary John Cinnamus,[114] the

[109] In a small play by (Pseudo-)Tzetzes a wise man exclaims: 'I would rather be a tanner, a stone mason or any kind of craftsman . . . now that a wise man of noble reason goes hungry, miserable and poor!' See P. L. M. Leone, 'Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis', *Byz.*, XXXIX (1969, publ. 1970), p. 275/45–7; the play derives from one by Michael Haplucheir; see *ibid.*, pp. 268–73.

[110] Kurtz, 'Unedierte Texte', p. 116/148–58.

[111] John Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum chiliades* (Leipzig, 1826), p. 517/204–6.

[112] See e.g. the speech (*c.* 1167) of the rhetor Michael, who attacks those who claim that the universe is uncreated ('τὸ ἀγέννητον'): R. Browning, 'A New Source on Byzantine-Hungarian Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Balkan Studies*, II (1961), repr. in Browning, *Studies*, no. IV, pp. 197–202.

[113] See D. Shestakov, 'Tri poeta vizantiyskogo renessansa', *Uchenyye Zapiski Kazanskogo Universiteta*, LXXIII (1906), nos. 7–8, p. 5.

[114] See M. M. Freydenberg, 'Trud Kinnama kak istoricheskiy istochnik', *VV*, XVI (1959), p. 50.

idealization of the emperor and his family stemmed not simply from the formal servility which was necessary to the court poet, but more from a desire to find and project a model image of an ideal warrior.

This idealization is indeed extreme. The emperor is likened to God and to Christ.[115] In the poem on the birth of Alexius, the *sebastocratorissa* Irene is brighter than the heavens, for from the heavens shine forth only one sun and one moon, while Irene has produced two sons and three daughters (*Hist. Ged.* XLIV, 58–65); Alexius, born at Easter, was 'resurrected together with Christ; dead for nine months, as Christ was dead for three days, (Alexius) rose from his tomb into the world' (ll. 158–63).

Prodromus was a man of strong views. He may have shared the prejudices of a particular social group, but he was not content just to echo safe opinion. He was educated, thoughtful and observant, and if his observations led him to unconventional conclusions, he was prepared to state and defend them. His piety was largely external: he was accused of heresy, of blasphemous statements concerning the Trinity (see his defence, *Hist. Ged.* LIX). He shows his seriousness as a writer when he disputes the opinions of Clement of Alexandria – one of the most revered and authoritative fathers of the church – on the nature of language: Prodromus rejects mysticism in favour of logical clarity, arguing that language, as a means of communication, is concrete. 'I cannot approve of [Clement's] assertion that he never strove for beauty and nobility of expression, and that he considered it sufficient that the reader should be able to grasp the underlying thought . . . I too would have reckoned language to be immaterial if we were purely spiritual beings who had transcended the dust from which we were made. But since our souls are burdened with flesh, and since our physical nature prevents us from communicating and comprehending thoughts directly, language and expression must be considered of fundamental importance.'[116]

Until recently, scholars have paid little attention to Prodromus' qualities as a writer, and such work as has appeared has mostly been concerned with the formal aspect of his work: Prodromus the versifier, Prodromus the manipulator of stereotyped rhetorical figures. As a result, the general impression of Prodromus is of a

[115] See Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 91–4.

[116] *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 1265AB.

skilled mimic, a proficient, but wholly unoriginal, literary technician. The impression is both unfair and inaccurate. It has already been shown that Prodromus used outwardly conventional forms to express specific, contemporary opinions – not only in his 'historical' poems, but also in his ultra-conventional genre-pieces, such as *Rodanthe and Dosicles* and the *Catomyomachia*.[117] And we have seen that he thought carefully about the nature and function of literary expression. Surely he deserves to have his works treated seriously as literature, rather than as rhetorical exercises.

Perhaps the greatest single objection to the traditional 'impersonal' view of Prodromus is the fact that his own personality, his own attitudes, aspirations and emotions, constantly intrude into all that he writes. Like Michael Psellus, Prodromus rejected the anonymity, the generality, the universality of early Byzantine literature. Even in his historical poems he often writes as much about his own life and needs as about the events and the individuals to whom the poems are ostensibly dedicated. In a poem to Anna Comnena Prodromus recalls the route which led him to literature: how he toiled over books night and day; how he sailed across the 'huge sea of grammar', the 'straits of rhetoric' and the 'ocean of philosophy' which is larger than the ocean around the earth, for philosophy encompasses both earth and heaven (*Hist. Ged.* XXXVIII, 48–59). He complains of his poverty, he begs for imperial gifts. Even when he sings of imperial victories, he manages to find a place for himself: the emperor has the Virgin as his victorious co-general, 'and me, Prodromus, as your most assiduous servant' (XVI, 216–18). 'O miracle', he exclaims, 'I, Prodromus, who used to fear shadows and the rustle of leaves, I, Prodromus, now travel the lands of the barbarians' (XVIII, 73–8).

Prodromus' constant requests for help, his constant reminders of his own plight, are phenomena of literary, and not just of biographical, significance. They reflect and develop one of the most interesting and important changes that occurred in Byzantine literature during the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the introduction of the author's personality into his work; the introduction of

[117] For contemporary allusions in these works see H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* (Graz, 1968); *idem*, 'Byzantinische "Froschmänner"?', *Antidosis. Festschrift T. W. Kraus* (Vienna, Graz, Cologne, 1972), p. 183; *idem, Literatur*, II, pp. 131ff.; C. Cupane, 'Un caso di giudizzio di Dio nel romanzo di Teodoro Prodromo', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, X–XI (1973–4), p. 118.

individual emotions. Prodromus was among the major innovators in this field. The twelfth century saw the appearance of the Byzantine romance, which attempted, albeit clumsily, to revive the poetry of love; and Prodromus was among its earliest practitioners. Quite remarkable, in their expression of personal feeling, are some of Prodromus' short poems, as, for example (in a prose rendering):

> O, my passion and desires, I nurtured you when you were small, and in my heart you grew large. I looked forward to your maturity and expected your gratitude; but you only torment me; nothing can be more cruel.[118]

Prodromus can also write with humour. Thus he describes his visage after illness: his pate had become as smooth as a pestle; but he had sprouted a gigantic beard, luxuriant as the gardens of Alcinoe, except that it abounded not in pears and figs, but in hairs.[119]

Tragedy, too, has its place in the writings of Prodromus: not grandiose tragedy with mountains of corpses and rivers of blood (though such scenes do occur in his panegyrics); instead, he has the ability to convey deftly and unobtrusively, in a half-line or in a casual detail, personal grief and tenderness. The *sebastocratorissa* Irene, in mourning, speaks to her husband's corpse: 'Do you not see my tears? Why do you not wipe them from my face with your tunic?'[120] Stephen Scylitzes returns to Constantinople seriously ill, and is carried to the house of Prodromus, his friend. His bearers announce him as 'the metropolitan of Trebizond'. Prodromus bounds across the room and shouts his joyful greeting, but on being shown the figure on the stretcher he scolds the bearers for deceiving him: how could anybody mistake that miserable semi-corpse for the real metropolitan? But the semi-corpse moves, and mutters something, and Prodromus recognizes his friend. Struggling to rectify his hurtful error he says, 'You have come clad in a new body, as if to confirm the possibility of metempsychosis. Your beautiful soul has abandoned its beautiful body and has decided to don an ugly one.' This said, Prodromus bursts into tears. Stephen, though in agonizing pain, tells of his travels and travails, and of how he finally decided to return to Constantinople, either to find a cure

[118] Legrand, 'Poésies inédites', p. 72.

[119] *PG*, CXXXIII, cols. 1251B–1252B; on Prodromus' satire see M. J. Kyriakis, 'Satire and Slapstick in Seventh and Twelfth Century Byzantium', *Byzantina*, V (1973), pp. 293–306.

[120] J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844), p. 375/100–1.

from the best available doctors, or else at least to die at home, among friends.[121]

Although socially, in public life, Prodromus was a vociferous and earnest supporter of the nobility, his more intimate, and perhaps deeper, sympathies lie with the 'little man', the man whose fate it is to suffer and endure in a vast and far-from-perfect world. Whether he describes the last days of Stephen Scylitzes, or an uncomfortable visit to the dentist, or the husband who has wasted all his wife's money and now has to get his meals from her by stealth, or his own illness, Prodromus again and again depicts with affection and concern the trials and petty failures of relatively undistinguished men.

Other writers before Prodromus had focused attention on personality and emotion. But Prodromus displays a humane and compassionate sensitivity to individual feeling which sets him apart from his predecessors. It is his unique contribution to Byzantine literature, and it was to ensure his popularity.

In a way, Prodromus was fortunate, despite his ill-health and his relative poverty. Michael Psellus, the originator of the new trend in Byzantine literature, was rewarded for his pains with the hatred of his contemporaries (even of those who learned much from him). He was respected for his talent, but he was never directly imitated, and few mourned his death. Prodromus, on the other hand, was loved, venerated, and much copied. His passing was lamented in a monody by his pupil Nicetas Eugenianus,[122] and in a poem by the monk Peter (see above). Michael Italicus apparently met, in the environs of Philippopolis, a monk who knew Prodromus' complete works by heart. Prodromus was widely imitated both by his immediate successors (Eugenianus, and perhaps Constantine Manasses), and by later generations.[123] Clearly the time was ripe for new approaches. But equally clearly, Prodromus' particular skills and qualities as a writer must have contributed towards his success.

[121] Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome', p. 13/211–34.

[122] See M. J. Kyriakis, 'Of Professors and Disciples in Twelfth Century Byzantium', *Byz.* XLIII (1973, publ. 1974), pp. 108–19.

[123] Hörandner, 'Prodromos-Reminiszenzen bei Dichtern der Nikänischen Zeit', *Byz. Forsch.*, IV (1972), pp. 88–104.

IV

Eustathius of Thessalonica: the life and opinions of a twelfth-century Byzantine rhetor

1. LIFE

Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, was one of the most distinguished of all Byzantine writers, and the course of his life ought to be reasonably simple to establish. Immediately after his death two of his friends, Michael Choniates and Euthymius Malaces, wrote long and elaborate speeches designed to fix the image of the great man for posterity. However, true to the conventions of Byzantine rhetoric, both speeches overflow with epithets and rapturous praise, while plain facts are either absent altogether or else are veiled in an almost impenetrable fog of verbiage. Michael Choniates speaks of the ladder by which Eustathius ascends to heaven, or of how Eustathius casts off his earthly fetters and passes through the gates which open spontaneously before him (Mich. Ak. 1, pp. 302/14–303/12). But he says not a word on those issues which the historian in our time might regard as more substantial: on when and where Eustathius was born, who were his parents, what was his employment. In the main, the biography of Eustathius has to be reconstructed not from the eulogies of his mourning friends, but from the occasional hints contained in his own works, and from fragments and scraps of information in the lemmas. Not surprisingly, therefore, our knowledge of his life remains patchy, and even the most elementary facts remain contentious.

When was Eustathius born? The widely accepted current hypothesis, suggested by P. Wirth, is that his birth falls between 1106/7 and 1114.[1] Wirth notes that in speeches of the 1170s (in fact, one should point out, by the late 1160s) Eustathius speaks of himself

[1] P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des XII Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1960),

as an old man, but that he also claims to remember Alexius I, who died in 1118. The crucial point in Wirth's argument is his interpretation of the statement that Eustathius was still a boy when the Lord set Manuel I 'upon this imperial summit' ('ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ταύτης ἐκάθισέ σε περιωπῆς') (*Fontes*, I, p. 26/11–13). Wirth takes the 'imperial summit' as a reference to the title of *sebastocrator*, which Manuel received between 1122/3 and 1128.

Yet surely 'imperial summit' applies more naturally to the office of emperor. Precisely the same expression is used of Manuel as emperor by Eustathius' pupil Gregory Antiochus (*Fontes*, II, pp. 195/11–12; 201/24; 218/16–17).[2] Moreover, 'this' imperial summit implies Manuel's status at the time when the speech was delivered: the speech was delivered towards the end of Manuel's reign, when he had already been emperor for over thirty years. There is no apparent reason why at this time he should wish to recall the lower title of *sebastocrator*. In the same passage Eustathius states that he himself, when Manuel was thus elevated, served as an imperial rhetor. He can scarcely have held such a position at the tender age of sixteen. Better to accept the view of S. Kyriakides, that the reference is to Manuel's accession to the throne in 1143, by when Eustathius was a mature adult: Eustathius' claim to have been still a boy is thus merely a rhetorical exaggeration.[3] Nor should one accept too literally Eustathius' claim to remember Alexius I: the Aeschylean phrase 'written on the tablets of memory' (cf. *Prometheus Bound*, l. 789) need not necessarily indicate that Eustathius was an eye-witness.

Eustathius was probably born in about 1115. In 1170 he was approximately fifty-five years old, and he protests his old age more in order to win sympathy than to record facts. Euthymius Malaces calls Eustathius his contemporary (Malaces, p. 83/10); Malaces was probably born between 1115 and 1135,[4] and there is no reason to assume that Eustathius was born significantly earlier.

pp. 19–21; see the review by J. Darrouzès, *REB*, XVIII (1960), p. 264; Valk, I, p. CXXXVIII, n. 3; Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 426, n. 537.

[2] cf. A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, X, p. 84/10; note, however, that in the twelfth century 'βασιλεῖς' can refer to members of the imperial family: Theodore Prodromus uses 'περιωπή' with reference to the *sebastocrator* Isaac, uncle of Manuel I; see E. Kurtz, 'Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos', *BZ*, XVI (1907), p. 114/87.

[3] *Esp.*, p. XXXIV.

[4] See G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (*Orientalia Christiana*, XXXIII)

1. *Life*

It is often assumed that Eustathius was born in Constantinople. This may well be true, but proof is hard to find. The only textual argument derives from a passage in which Eustathius mentions people who 'μεθ' ἡμῶν' were children of Constantinople (*Esp.*, p. 66/26). 'Μεθ' ἡμῶν' ('with me') is normally taken to mean 'like me',[5] but a different interpretation is possible. In this passage Eustathius speaks of his life in Thessalonica: shortly before the Norman siege he sent home ('εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν') some of his Constantinopolitan pupils, who were in Thessalonica with him ('μεθ' ἡμῶν'). 'Μεθ' ἡμῶν' would thus be in opposition to 'εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν': 'with me in Thessalonica' – 'to their homes in Constantinople'.

Nothing is known of Eustathius' parents. Kyriakides suggested that he was born of a noble family with the name of Cataphloron,[6] but the idea has little to recommend it. In several lemmas Eustathius is indeed called 'ὁ τοῦ Καταφλῶρον', but this does not necessarily mean that Cataphloron was Eustathius' family name. The formula 'ὁ τοῦ X' means 'close to X', somebody 'in X's circle', and the relationship may be that of a nephew, or of a pupil.[7] In Byzantine usage a pupil was often called a son, and a teacher was a father.[8] Thus there was no Eustathius Cataphloron; instead, Eustathius was close to, perhaps the nephew or pupil of, somebody named Cataphloron. The man is question must be Nicholas Cataphloron, who died in 1160.[9]

(Rome, 1934), p. 307; also K. G. Bonis, 'Eustathios archiepiskopos Thessalonikēs', *EEPTh*, I (1950), pp. 49–50. Stadtmüller's arguments are questionable (see Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, p. 19), but since Malaces died shortly before the fall of Constantinople in 1204 (Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, p. 130) the estimate of his approximate date of birth seems reasonable.

[5] Thus 'wie wir' in the translation by H. Hunger, *Die Normannen in Thessalonike* (Graz, 1955), p. 68.

[6] *Esp.*, pp. XXXV–XXXVI.

[7] See P. Wirth, 'Michael von Thessalonike?', *BZ*, LV (1962), pp. 266–8; *idem*, 'Michael "von Konstantinopel" und kein Ende', *Byz.*, XXXVII (1967), pp. 421–2; cf. Eustathius' own speech to the patriarch Michael 'ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου', in which the author explains that Michael's uncle had been bishop of Anchialus (*E*, fol. 157v). At any rate the name 'ὁ τοῦ Καταφλῶρον' cannot justify the suggestion that Eustathius was a monk of the monastery of St Florus: see, most recently, Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 191.

[8] Thus Zigabenus in *PG*, CXXX, col. 1301A.

[9] P. Wirth, 'Zu Nikolaos Kataphloros', *Classica et mediaevalia*, XII (1960), pp. 213–14; V. Laurent, 'Kataphloros, patronyme supposé du métropolite de Thessalonique Eustathe', *REB*, XX (1962), pp. 220–1; Browning, 'Patriarchal School', pp. 18–19; P. Wirth, 'Nikolaos *ho Kataphlōron* und nicht Nikolaos *ho kata Phlōron*, Eustathios *ho tou Kataphlōron* und nicht Eustathios *ho tou kata Phlōron*', *BZ*, LVI (1963), pp. 235–6. For Wirth's writings on Eustathius see now his *Eustathiana. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Amsterdam, 1980).

Nicholas Cataphloron is described in some depth by his pupil Gregory Antiochus, who wrote his funeral oration.[10] Antiochus speaks of Cataphloron's wisdom and learning; he summons to the funeral Philosophy, Rhetoric and Grammar, by whom Cataphloron had been reared (Escorial Y–10–11 (*E*), fol. 266v).[11] Cataphloron held ecclesiastical appointments as a teacher of the Pauline epistles, and of the gospels. He also became *maistor ton rhetoron* (head of rhetoric) at the patriarchal school. This was a secular appointment made by the emperor, and it was combined with membership of the senate (*E*, fol. 268).[12]

Eustathius was educated in Constantinople. Malaces states plainly that his deceased friend acquired his knowledge and learning in the imperial city (Malaces, p. 80/19–20); and on one occasion Eustathius himself recalls a walk to the suburbs with his teachers from the 'great city' (*Opusc.*, p. 111/57–9). It is possible that he received his initial education at the school attached to the monastery of St Euthymius, whose clergy he describes as 'co-pupils' ('συντρόφους') (*Opusc.*, p. 337/81–3). At some point Malaces studied with him: 'I am his contemporary and co-pupil; together we became acquainted with scholarship; we spent our entire youth together' (Malaces, p. 83/10–12).

Eustathius sometimes mentions his teachers. He speaks of two wise teachers, one of whom was appointed to instruct him (*Opusc.*, p. 111/52–4); and he refers affectionately to a 'holy and great man', who instructed him and educated him, and without whose well-justified beatings Eustathius would not have progressed along the straight path of learning (*Opusc.*, p. 103/90–3). Finally, he was taught by a man who 'headed the sophists', ('τῶν σοφιστευόντων προήδρευε'): that is, by the *maistor ton rhetoron* (p. 206/4–5).[13] The natural inference is that Eustathius studied under the *maistor ton rhetoron* Nicholas Cataphloron. This supposition is to some extent

[10] See below, p. 200.

[11] On this manuscript see G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, II (Madrid, 1965), pp. 120–31.

[12] The *maistor ton rhetoron* was appointed by the emperor, but was regarded as a member of the patriarchal staff: see J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ophphikia de l'Eglise byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 78–9. Lists of ecclesiastical offices mention the rhetor whose job it was to produce encomia to the emperor at Christmas and Easter: see I. S. Chichurov, 'Novyye rukopisnyye svedeniya o vizantiyskom obrazovanii', *VV*, XXXI (1971), pp. 241/6–7; 242/7–8.

[13] cf. Kyriakides' remarks in *Esp.*, pp. XL–XLI.

strengthened by the evidence of Gregory Antiochus. Antiochus not only studied at the school of Catapholoron, but he also claims to have been taught by Eustathius.[14] Since, as we shall see, Eustathius was himself *maistor ton rhetoron* at the end of the 1160s, it is a fair guess that he followed in the footsteps of his teacher, Cataphloron.

Eustathius started his career at the very bottom of the bureaucracy. He gives a somewhat florid account of this period in an address to Manuel I: 'You raised me from the mud of humdrum work ('ἀπὸ ἰλύος πραγμάτων') to sparkling purity' (*Fontes*, I, p. 26/26–7). More details are to be found in a speech to the patriarch Michael III: 'There was a time when I was numbered among scribes ('ἐν ὑπογραφεῦσι') and served in the ranks of clerks in this holy chancery ('τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις ἀρχείοις ὑπογραμματέων'), where I worked under your direction' (*E*, fol. 158v). A little further on (fol. 160v) Eustathius again states that Michael had been in charge of the scribes in the patriarchal chancery ('τοῖς τῶν πατριαρχικῶν ἀρχείων ὑπογραφεῦσιν . . . κεφαλήν').

Eustathius served as a scribe in the patriarchal administration. Furthermore, he indicates quite clearly when this period of service took place: it was at the time of the great hierarch who bore the name of an apostle ('τὴν κλῆσιν ἀποστολικός') (fol. 158v). The only 'apostolically named' patriarch in the mid twelfth century was Luke Chrysoberges (1157–69/70).[14a]

When Michael moved from the chancery to the judiciary, Eustathius followed him and became a clerk at the patriarchal court, where his job was to record the judge's decisions ('ἐχρῆν ὑποδρηστεῦσαι τῷ γράμματι καὶ τὸν τῆς σῆς εὐθυτάτης κρίσεως ἐγχαράξαι κώδικι γνώμονα') (fol. 158v). The work was complicated, and Eustathius could not have found his way through the labyrinth had not Michael provided him with the threads of guidance (fol. 159). During this period Eustathius was given church office ('χειροτονῆσαι δὲ ἐμὲ ἐκελεύετο') (fol. 158v): he became a deacon.[15]

He is called a deacon in the title of his commentaries on Pindar

[14] J. Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173', II, *BS*, XXIV (1963), p. 71/302–4. See below, p. 201.

[14a] On the 'apostolicity' of Luke see Arseniy, *Zhitiye i podvigi sv. Feodory Solunskoy* (Yur'yev, 1899), p. 5/31.

[15] There is no basis for the suggestion by Ph. Koukoules, *Thessalonikēs Eustathiou ta laographika*, I (Athens, 1950), p. 6, that Eustathius became a deacon during the patriarchate of Nicholas Muzalon (1147–51).

(*Opusc.*, p. 53/31); Demetrius Chomatianus knows him as a deacon of the Great Church (St Sophia) (*PG*, CXIX, col. 949A); and in a letter to a patriarch (?) Eustathius mentions an anonymous 'co-deacon' who served with him (*Opusc.*, p. 340/11, 88).

In the dedication of his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes, addressed to John Ducas, son of the *megas drungarios* Andronicus Camaterus Eustathius is termed both deacon and (?) 'master of petitions' ('ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων').[16] He is also termed 'master of petitions' in the heading of one of his letters (*Opusc.*, p. 324/4). But, as Kurtz first noted, there is a mistake in the lemma: the post of 'master of petitions' was in fact held not by the letter's author, but by its addressee, Nicephorus Comnenus.[17] Indeed, in a different manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 1182) the title reads 'τῷ αὐτῷ γεγονότι ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων'. The 'emendation' of the dative (referring to the addressee) to the genitive (referring to the sender) was made by a later hand.[18]

Eustathius was not, therefore, master of petitions. This job was normally reserved for the very grandest of nobles, or for members of the imperial family: for men like Nicephorus Comnenus and John Ducas. In his dedication to Ducas (which provides the only 'evidence' that Eustathius might actually have been master of petitions), Eustathius is in fact called 'διάκονος ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων': possibly he worked in the patriarchate's department of petitions.

More information about Eustathius' life as a deacon is contained in his memorandum ('ὑπομνηστικόν') to the patriarch Michael III. According to the lemma[19] a certain deacon had illegally procured a position as guardian of the sacred treasures ('κειμελίοις ἱεροῖς'). In the patriarchate of Luke Chrysoberges this deacon had been unmasked, demoted and deprived of any further income from the church. Another man was appointed in his place, and then another, and then, a short while later, Eustathius. Thus in the patriarchate of Luke Chrysoberges Eustathius served as a deacon with some responsibility for the sacred treasures.

[16] G. Bernhardy, *Geographi graeci minores*, I (Leipzig, 1828), p. 67/4.

[17] E. Kurtz, 'Evstafiya Fessalonikiyskogo i Konstantina Manassi monodii na konchinu Nikifora Komnina', *VV*, XVII (1910), p. 288.

[18] P. Wirth, 'Studien zum Briefcorpus des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike', *BZ*, LVI (1963), p. 14; cf. also R. Guilland, 'Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le Maître des Requêtes', *Byz.*, XXXV (1965), p. 108.

[19] P. Wirth, 'Zur Biographie des Eustathios von Thessalonike', *Byz.*, XXXVI (1966), pp. 262/3–263/14.

Apparently Eustathius was also employed for a while at the patriarchal *sakellion*: a verse inscription on a seal refers to Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, 'formerly of the *sakellion*'.[20]

Under Luke Chrysoberges, therefore, Eustathius held a series of posts in the patriarchal administration: in the chancery, in the courts (or in the department of petitions), in the department of the sacred treasures, and probably in the *sakellion*. In his commentary on a hymn by John of Damascus he mentions that when he had been a deacon Luke had showered him with droplets from the 'golden cloud of kindness' (*PG*, CXXXVI, col. 509C).

In the second half of the 1160s Eustathius' former mentor and protector, Michael, was appointed 'consul of the philosophers'.[21] Then, as Eustathius writes (*E*, fol. 160), 'you remembered me and took pity on me because in spite of my advanced age ('γῆρας οὕτῳ βαθύ') my life was still filled with hardships and misfortune ('περὶ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ταλαιπωρίαν πονοῦμαι'; 'ἐν κακίοις τρίβομαι') and you brought me out into this promised land flowing with milk and honey'. At first Eustathius was not offered the sweet and glorious 'sophistic' ('σοφιστικήν') job, but had to be content with a rather less prominent position.

The 'sophistic' job was the post of *maistor ton rhetoron*, to which Eustathius was eventually promoted. He is already named head of the rhetors in the dedication (to John Ducas) of his commentaries on Dionysius Periegetes; and again by Demetrius Chomatianus; and again in the lemma of a letter from Gregory Antiochus.[22] Eustathius may have this job in mind when he writes to Malaces rejecting the latter's accusations that promotion to a 'sophistic' rank had made him arrogant (*Opusc.*, p. 348/78). This letter is addressed to Malaces as metropolitan of Neopatrae (pp. 348/2; 349/51–2), but since Malaces was appointed before 1166[23] it does not help to clarify the date of Eustathius' promotion.

The conventional view is that Eustathius only held the post of *maistor ton rhetoron* for a brief period, roughly from 1172 to 1174,

[20] Laurent, *Corpus*, V, no. 462.

[21] See Michael's inaugural speech: R. Browning, 'A New Source on Byzantine-Hungarian Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Balkan Studies*, II (1961), repr. in Browning, *Studies*, pt. IV. The speech was delivered between 1165 and 1167: see P. Wirth, 'Das bislang erste literarische Zeugnis für die Stephanskrone', *BZ*, LIII (1960), p. 80.

[22] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', I, p. 278.

[23] Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, pp. 307–8.

shortly before he became archbishop of Thessalonica.[24] This opinion is based on a statement by Michael Choniates that Eustathius sat upon the throne of rhetoric a short while before ('μικρῷ πρότερον') he ascended the throne of his archbishopric (Mich. Ak. I, p. 290/23–5). However, the evidence for this date is far from conclusive.

In the first place, Eustathius was appointed to his 'sophistic' job while Michael was still consul of the philosophers, but not yet patriarch: Eustathius' account in his address to Michael is in chronological sequence, and he speaks of Michael's patriarchate long after he refers to his own 'sophistic' appointment (*E*, fol. 162). Secondly, the address to Michael III was probably composed very soon after the latter's election, for Eustathius dwells at length on the process of his election and on the universal joy which it caused (fol. 162r-v); and the death of Luke Chrysoberges was still fresh in the memory (fol. 163).

Michael III became patriarch in 1170. In accordance with normal practice of the *maistor ton rhetoron*, Eustathius' address to the patriarch was delivered on Lazarus Saturday ('κατὰ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου') (fol. 157). It must therefore be dated to 28 March 1170.

Before this, Eustathius had given a speech in front of Manuel I, concerning a shortage of water in Constantinople. The lemma describes the author as a deacon and 'teacher of the rhetors' ('διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητόρων') (*Fontes*, I, p. 126/1–2). This speech has been variously dated between 1166 and 1169.[25]

One may conclude that Eustathius became *maistor ton rhetoron* at some time between 1166 and 1170. He could not have been appointed before 1166, when the post was filled by another person.[26]

Soon after 1170 Eustathius' ecclesiastical career took a downward turn. The lemma of his *hypomnestikon* explains that under Michael III he lost his position as deacon, for the deacon who had been dismissed by Luke Chrysoberges was now reinstated in the job which Eustathius had held in the intervening period. Eustathius was thus out of a job and out of pocket.

[24] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', I, p. 276; *Esp.*, p. xlvi.
[25] *Fontes*, I, pp. XVI–XVII; Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 189; Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, p. 24.
[26] A certain Basil: see Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 184.

In the *hypomnestikon* Eustathius complains of his misfortunes: only yesterday he had held wealth in his hands, but the blessings which other men retained passed him by; 'yesterday we stood in the palace of divine wisdom (i.e. St Sophia), but today we are excluded from it'; he complains of old age; he was already an old man when at last he made some progress in life, but now winter threatened once more.[27] Here again we find the image of a shower from a golden cloud, as in the commentary on John of Damascus:[28] but here Eustathius complains that the shower, though sweet, was brief, that the gold scattered and vanished, to be replaced by snowflakes. This adjustment of nuance suggests that the *hypomnestikon* is later than the commentary.

In a petition to Michael Hagiotheodorites, logothete of the dromos, Eustathius similarly complains of impending poverty and illness, and of his lack of paid work (*E*, fol. 360). It is tempting to conclude that the petition was written at approximately the same time as the *hypomnestikon*. The petition is later than 1173, for it includes a reference to the logothete's brother Nicholas as *hypertimos*: Nicholas Hagiotheodorites was awarded the title *hypertimos* in 1173.[29]

Eustathius was not permanently out of work. We do not know the patriarch's immediate response to his appeal, but eventually he was appointed archbishop of Thessalonica.

Until recently the date of Eustathius' appointment was not a matter of controversy. The generally accepted argument was as follows:

Eustathius was put forward as a candidate for the see of Myra in Lycia in 1174, and in this capacity he gave a speech to Manuel I on St Nicholas' day, 6 December 1174 (*Fontes*, I, p. 24/14–16). Chomatianus states that on the emperor's orders Eustathius was transferred to Thessalonica immediately after his appointment to Myra: thus he became archbishop of Thessalonica in late 1174 or early 1175.[30] A revised date of 1177 has received some support in

[27] Wirth, 'Zur Biographie', pp. 266/2, 11–13; 267/29; 281/7–10.

[28] Wirth, 'Zur Biographie', p. 267/2.

[29] See A. P. Kazhdan, 'Brat'ya Ayofeodority pri dvore Manuila Komnina', *ZRVI*, IX (1966), p. 92.

[30] e.g. L. Petit, 'Les évêques de Thessalonique', *EO*, V (1901–2), p. 29; for other proposed dates, now discredited, see F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1926), p. 41, whose suggestion of 1182 is based on a simple misreading;

recent years: it is based on the hypothesis that Eustathius' dismissal by the patriarch Michael III should be linked to the case of the deacon John Placenus in 1177.[31]

However, neither date is entirely consistent with the available evidence.

The main source for the traditional dating is the speech in which Eustathius refers to Nicholas of Myra (*Fontes*, I, p. 45/24). The reference is not in itself sufficient proof that the speech was delivered on 6 December: a candidate for the see of Myra might well mention St Nicholas, regardless of the occasion. Indeed, the speech also contains references to the river Jordan (pp. 44/24; 45/5–7), which, in court rhetoric, is traditionally mentioned on 6 January, on the feast of the Baptism.

Nor does Eustathius' speech point unequivocally to the year 1174. Tafel dated it to 1174/5 because of the historical events to which it alludes.[32] Regel put it in 1174, because he supposed that another speech by Eustathius was delivered in Thessalonica in 1175; but in a remarkable circular argument, this latter date turns out to be derived solely from the assumption that the speech to Manuel I was in fact written on 6 December 1174 (*Fontes*, I, pp. VII–VIII, XII).

1174 is not necessarily the year of Eustathius' appointment; it is merely the *terminus post quem*. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by Nicetas Choniates, who mentions Eustathius as archbishop of Thessalonica at the end of Manuel's life: that is, not later than 1180 (Nic. Chon., p. 216/26–7). The same *terminus ante quem* is also indicated by Eustathius himself, in his first Lenten Homily: he notes that in the current year Lent commences on St Nicephorus' day, 9 February (*Opusc.*, p. 1/48–52). Lent started on 9 February in 1169 and 1180. 1169 must be excluded (it is before the *terminus post quem*); the Homily was therefore delivered in 1180, by which time Eustathius must already have become archbishop of Thessalonica.

Thus far we have ascertained that Eustathius was appointed between 1174 and 1180. Can these limits be narrowed any further?

Michael Choniates wrote to Eustathius complaining that he had received no letters. He inquires as to how Eustathius had borne the

and M. Treu in *Orat.*, p. 41, who offers no evidence for his assertion that Eustathius was still *maistor ton rhetoron* in 1176.

31 P. Wirth, 'Zur Frage nach dem Beginn des Episkopats des Eustathios von Thessalonike', *JÖB*, XVI (1967), pp. 143–6; Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 427, n. 540.

32 T. L. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro* (Berlin, 1839), p. 434.

journey, and how he was received in Thessalonica. Michael is worried lest the city now betrothed to Eustathius should begrudge him contact with Constantinople (Mich. Ak. II, pp. 2/22–3/3). This letter was obviously written soon after Eustathius arrived in his archbishopric. A little later Michael was to complain that Eustathius (a zephyr for the fortunate city of Thessalonica) did not send his life-giving breath to the imperial city; only his letters saved his friends from reverting to dust (p. 6/2–9). Eustathius maintained an active correspondence with the capital,[33] but there is no evidence that he ever visited Constantinople during this period. Michael Choniates left for Athens in 1182, apparently without having seen Eustathius since the latter's departure for Thessalonica. And even after 1182 it seems that Eustathius kept promising to come, but always postponed his visit (Malaces, p. 76/10–11; cf. 71/7).

Yet a glance at Eustathius' own works written between 1174 and 1179 reveals that several of them could only have been written in Constantinople.[34] Not one of these works is directly concerned with the affairs of Thessalonica; rather they deal with events of a broader significance to the empire as a whole.

Among these works are three speeches addressed to Manuel I. One of the speeches (the 'sixth' in Regel's classification) was dated by its editor to 1173/4 (*Fontes*, I, pp. XV–XVI), but in fact it may well have been written somewhat later. Regel produces two arguments in support of his chronology. First, the lemma reads: 'τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης κῦρ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον' (for 'Καταφλῶρον'), which Regel took to mean that Eustathius was at the time a monk in the monastery of St Florus and had not yet been made metropolitan (archbishop). This suggestion, as we have seen, is unacceptable. Secondly, Regel arrives at his date on the grounds that Eustathius refers to successes in Asia Minor and Italy. Certainly Eustathius mentions the siege of Ancona (1173), which he describes as 'recent' ('ἔναγχος') but this siege is *not* the 'present' success ('τὰ δὲ νῦν') to which he refers (*Fontes*, I, p. 116/15–19). Therefore the speech was written some

[33] J. Dräseke, 'Eustathios und Michael Akominatos', *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, XXIV (1913), p. 490.

[34] For the most convenient list of Eustathius' works, see Browning, 'Patriarchal School', pp. 186–90. On the unpublished works see A. P. Kazhdan, 'Neizdannyye sochineniya Evstafiya Solunskogo v Eskurial'skoy rukopisi Y-II-10', *Polychronion* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 335–44.

time *after* the siege of Ancona. Eustathius mentions events of 1173, but he also implies that there were subsequent events which he prefers not to describe: 'let others tell of what is happening at present . . . my task is to return to a former time' (p. 116/19–22). And in the same speech Eustathius on several occasions refers to a victory over the Ishmaelites on their own territory (pp. 107/28–108/2); in 1173 there were no military clashes with the Seljuks.[35]

This 'sixth' speech may have been written later than Regel, its editor, supposed.

Regel dated another speech, the 'first', to 1175 (*Fontes*, I, p. VII), but it, too, was probably written later. Eustathius starts this speech with a promise to say nothing which might be unpleasant for the emperor, but then he refers to recent battles in which the barbarians had aimed to defeat Manuel himself; and although they did not succeed in putting the emperor to flight, they did manage to inflict casualties on others of 'our' men (*Fontes*, I, pp. 1/8–13; 2/20–3). This must surely be an allusion to the battle of Myriocephalon, and the speech therefore cannot have been composed before the end of 1176.

Only one of this group of speeches, Regel's 'fourth', has any clear connection with Thessalonica (*Fontes*, I, p. 78/23), but it was written after 1178.[36]

Two further 'official' speeches date from the same period: one celebrating the arrival in Constantinople of Agnes, bride of Alexius, heir to the throne; and the other describing Alexius' marriage festivities at the hippodrome (*Fontes*, I, pp. XIV–XV; *E*, fols. 368–72v). These distinctly Constantinopolitan works date from 1179.[37]

More difficult to date is Eustathius' second address to the patriarch Michael III. It is a conventional address by the *maistor ton rhetoron* to the patriarch on the eve of Palm Sunday ('προτείνω βαΐα ταῦτα πρὸς λόγον ἑορτῆς') (*E*, fol. 178v). It is later than Eustathius' first address to Michael, for here there is no word of the patriarch's election, and instead Eustathius mentions some of his activities in office.

[35] See F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (Paris, 1912), p. 501.
[36] On the date see Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 27–8.
[37] See also M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964), p. 194, for the western sources on this marriage.

In this address Eustathius refers to Michael's correspondence with the Armenians. Apparently the patriarch had recently dispatched a 'sublime and sonorous homily' with which he hoped to guide the Armenians towards the true path, and thus to expand God's pastures (fol. 171v). We know of two letters from Michael III to the *katholikos* of Armenia: one to Nerses (mid-1171), and the other to Gregory IV (10 January 1177).[38] Which does Eustathius have in mind?

In the same address Eustathius discusses the attributes of Manuel I's heir, Alexius: Alexius used to be but an infant, but now he is becoming the very image of his father (fol. 169v); he dons the armour of a soldier, his tender arm wields a spear, and he goes forth to the hunt; nor does he hunt small prey, but bears and wild boar (fol. 170).

Alexius was born on 14 September 1169. By the middle of 1172 he was not yet three years old. Even Byzantine hyperbole would not portray a two-year-old boy in armour, hunting boar. But by 1177 such a description is quite feasible: Alexius had already accompanied his father on a campaign to Dorylaeum, as Eustathius himself reports.[39] In all probability Eustathius delivered his second address to Michael III as *maistor ton rhetoron* on Lazarus Saturday, 16 April 1177. He cannot at the same time have been archbishop of Thessalonica.

Slightly later Eustathius wrote a humorous work entitled: 'What the Monk Neophytus Might have Said when, on the Day after the Death of his Patron Michael III, he was Robbed at the Baths at the Instigation of the *Megas Oikonomos* Pantechnes' (*Opusc.*, p. 328/58–64, with adjustments from *E*).[40] This was presumably written after the death of Michael III in March 1178. With its detailed description of the crowd which gathered to mock the victim, and with its denunciation of thieves (*Opusc.*, p. 331/30–41, 76–82), Eustathius' light-hearted piece has a very Constantinopolitan flavour. It hardly gives the impression that its author was

[38] Grumel, *Regestes*, III, nos. 1123, 1132; see A. P. Kazhdan, 'K istorii vizantino-armyanskikh otnosheniy v XII veke', *Istoriko-filologicheskiy zhurnal* (1964), no. 4, pp. 235–6; also the correction by I. Dujčev in *BZ*, LVIII (1965), p. 215.

[39] P. Wirth, 'Kaiser Manuel I Komnenos und die Ostgrenze', *BZ*, LV (1962), pp. 25/33–43; 28.

[40] See P. Wirth, 'Gehört die Ethopoiie *Poious an eipe logous ktl.* zum Briefcorpus des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike?', *Classica et mediaevalia*, XXI (1960), p. 216; B. Laourdas, 'Sēmeiōma peri tōn anekdotōn ergōn tou Eustathiou Thessalonikēs, *Theologia*, XXII (1951), p. 490, mistakenly lists the work as unpublished.

archbishop of Thessalonica. Conceivably the work was inspired by an actual occurrence which would have been familiar to the inhabitants of the capital.

One further work dates from the same period: an unpublished Lenten Homily (in *E*; we shall refer to it as the 'fourth' Lenten Homily, since three others are already published; the numeration is no indication of chronological sequence). Wirth published extracts from this 'fourth' Homily, and showed that in it Eustathius refers to Manuel I's campaign against Dorylaeum in 1175.[41] The campaign was apparently still recent (fol. 43: 'τὰ ἔναγχος τρόπαια'); and since the general tone is optimistic, one would assume that the Homily was delivered before the disaster of Myriocephalon: that is, in mid-February 1176.

Once again there is no indication that Eustathius delivered this Homily in Thessalonica. He begs his audience's indulgence, thanks them for their attention, and promises that, if his speech is a failure, he will henceforth pray for the emperors in silence. These are not the words of an archbishop, but of a man in need of favours. Possibly the Homily was delivered in front of Constantinopolitan magnates. Eustathius even asserts that he himself had intended to join 'this imperial journey' ('τὴν βασιλικὴν ταύτην ὁδόν'), and that only illness had prevented him from being present to witness the great deeds of the emperor (fol. 44).

All the evidence leads us to conclude that Eustathius remained in Constantinople, and continued to produce official speeches for the emperor and the patriarch, not only after 1174, but right down to 1179.

In principle, of course, there is no reason why Eustathius could not have been archbishop of Thessalonica when he delivered these speeches: Euthymius Tornices wrote a speech to the emperor on the feast of the Baptism when he was already metropolitan of Patrae;[42] and Nicholas, bishop of Methone, announces at the start of a speech to Manuel I that he has returned to his sovereign ('ἥκω σοι πάλιν'), from distant lands, whence he brings his speech as a gift.[43] But we recall the complaints of Michael Choniates, that Eustathius never

[41] Wirth, 'Kaiser Manuel I', p. 21.

[42] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St Petersburg, 1913), p. 103/4–5.

[43] Nicholas, bishop of Methone, *Logoi dyo* (Leipzig, 1865), p. 2/11–19; cf. J. Dräseke, 'Nikolaos von Methone', *BZ*, 1 (1892), p. 444, who takes this passage to mean that Nicholas could only communicate with the emperor by letter.

visited Constantinople after his appointment to the see of Thessalonica. The natural inference is that Eustathius did not leave Constantinople, nor was appointed to Thessalonica, before 1179.

A potential obstacle to this hypothesis is presented in Eustathius' epitaph to the *hypertimos* of Athens (in *E*, unpublished). This *hypertimos* of Athens, brother of the logothete (fol. 35v) can only be Nicholas Hagiotheodorites. Nicholas' death, which is usually dated 1175, was also commemorated by Pseudo-Tornices, and in a 'homily of consolation' by Gregory Antiochus to Nicholas' brother, the logothete Michael.[44] Nicholas Hagiotheodorites died in Athens, and his remains were transported first to his homeland ('τῇ δὲ πατρίδι γῇ') from where they were taken on to Constantinople (fol. 34v). On two occasions this indeterminate 'homeland' is named as 'Thessalia': Athens and Hymettus send the deceased to the Thessalian bee; the Thessalian land, against its own wishes, receives the *hypertimos* (fol. 34). 'Thessalia' is a common Byzantine substitute for Thessalonica. Eustathius himself calls Basil, archbishop of Thessalonica, hierarch 'τῶν Θετταλῶν' (fol. 54v). Thus Nicholas' body may have passed through Thessalonica on its way to the capital. Eustathius describes the arrival in Constantinople, the logothete's grief, and the emperor's sympathy, all in the *future* tense. If Eustathius delivered his epitaph in or near Thessalonica,[45] should one not assume that he was already the local archbishop?

Not necessarily. In the first place, Eustathius might still have been resident in Constantinople, from where he could have travelled to meet the body of his friend. And secondly, the death of Nicholas Hagiotheodorites may have occurred not in 1175,[46] but in 1178.[47]

Shortly after the epitaph (this seems the most appropriate time) Eustathius wrote a letter to the *protonobilissimohypertatos* logothete Hagiotheodorites (*Opusc.*, p. 342/42–3), i.e. to Michael, brother of

[44] See Kazhdan, 'Brat'ya Ayofeodority', pp. 90–4.

[45] The lemma, published by E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscripts grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1848), p. 201, states that the epitaph was delivered 'ἔξω τῆς μεγαλωνύμου πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης' at the church of St Nicholas, where the body was rested on its journey to the capital.

[46] As proposed by J. Darrouzès, 'Obit de deux métropolites d'Athènes', *REB*, xx (1962), p. 196.

[47] See Kazhdan, 'Neizdannyye sochineniya', p. 337.

Nicholas. Here Eustathius refers to the 'blessed memory of my lord, the truly blessed deceased hierarch' (p. 342/83–4). Clearly the reference is to the *hypertimos* of Athens, Nicholas Hagiotheodorites. Eustathius calls Nicholas his 'lord', a 'hierarch', not his colleague as a bishop; this implies that the letter, and consequently the epitaph, were written before Eustathius was elevated to the see of Thessalonica.

Most of Eustathius' works dated to between 1174 and 1179 were written in Constantinople, and deal with general matters of interest to all citizens of the empire. By contrast, none of his Thessalonican works dates from before 1179 (with the exception of his 'fourth' speech to Manuel, by Regel's classification). The earliest of these are his 'first' Lenten Homily, which was delivered in February 1180, and a pamphlet addressed to an unnamed stylite, in which he refers to the victory of Manuel I at Claudiopolis in 1180 (*Opusc.*, p. 196/19–21).[48] Then comes an epitaph on the emperor. It was one of many ('πολλῶν γὰρ ἄλλως γραψάντων'), according to the lemma (*Opusc.*, p. 196/38–40). No longer does Eustathius produce the official funeral speech as court rhetor. At some point after Manuel's death Eustathius also wrote his treatise 'On the Improvement of Monastic Life' (*Opusc.*, p. 230/61–2, 68). And a number of further works were written after the Norman capture of Thessalonica (on these see below).

The chronology of his works indicates that Eustathius moved from Constantinople to Thessalonica in about 1179. And evidence of a different kind leads us to the same date.

When Eustathius delivered his 'second' Lenten Homily he had occupied the see of Thessalonica for sixteen years (*Opusc.*, p. 85/75–6). In this homily he mentions a winter campaign by the emperor: the enemy was put to flight, his land was devastated, and his subjects were taken into slavery (p. 86/85–96). Uspensky saw here a reference to the campaign against the Bulgars by Isaac Angelus in 1186.[49] But if this were so, Eustathius would have become archbishop in 1170. The homily must therefore refer to different events. What could they have been?

To find them one needs to scan the years 1190–5: that is, to look

[48] On the date see P. Wirth, 'Die Chronologie der Schlacht um Klaudiopolis im Lichte bisher unbeachteter Quellen', *BZ*, L (1957), pp. 72–3.

[49] F. I. Uspensky, *Obrazovaniye vtorogo bolgarskogo tsarstva* (Odessa, 1879), p. 132, n. 1.

sixteen years ahead from the period 1174–9. The year 1196 is an unlikely date for the homily, since Eustathius was definitely in Thessalonica by February 1180 (and in any case nothing is known of Eustathius' life after the start of 1195). Nor can the homily have been written before 1190, since Eustathius cannot have been archbishop of Thessalonica before 1174.

Winter campaigns by imperial troops were rare in Byzantine history. The emperor normally spent the winter in Constantinople where, on 6 January, he would listen to his praises being sung by the *maistor ton rhetoron*. An exception to this practice is indicated in the lemma of a speech by the *maistor ton rhetoron* Gregory Tornices to the emperor Isaac Angelus: here it is stated that the rhetor was obliged on this occasion to deliver his eulogy earlier than was customary, before the feast of the Baptism, because the emperor was about to embark on a campaign (*Fontes*, II, p. 254/22–6). Isaac Angelus did not expect to return to Constantinople before 6 January. In other words, he was planning a winter campaign.

Tornices' speech has been variously dated to 1186,[50] early 1193,[51] and late 1193.[52] The first of these dates must be ruled out, since Tornices expressly states that the emperor had already been on the throne for seven or eight years: he compares Isaac Angelus to king David, who ruled over Judaea for seven years and six months (hence early 1193), and who consolidated his empire in eight years (hence late 1193) (*Fontes*, II, pp. 275/16–19; 276/5). Thus Isaac's expedition could have taken place either in the winter of 1192–3 or in the winter of 1193–4. If it occurred after the marriage of Isaac's daughter Irene to Tancred's son Roger (as is indicated in a speech by Sergius Colybas) – a marriage which Chalandon tentatively dates to 1193 – then the latter date is more plausible. At all events, the approximate date for Tornices' speech is 1193.

If Eustathius has in mind this same winter campaign by Isaac Angelus, then his 'second' Lenten Homily was written early in 1194. We count back sixteen years and arrive at *c.* 1178 as the date of Eustathius' appointment to his archbishopric.

[50] e.g. B. Ferjančić, 'Kada se Evdokija udala za Stevana Nemanjića?' *Zbornik fil. fak. Beogradskog Univ.*, VIII (1964), pp. 217–18.

[51] e.g. J. L. van Dieten, 'Das genaue Datum der Rede des Georgios Tornikes an Isaak II Angelos', *Byz. Forsch.*, III (1968), pp. 114–16.

[52] A. P. Kazhdan, 'La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)', *Byz.*, XXXV (1965), pp. 167–74.

This evidence cannot be wholly conclusive. The 'second' Lenten Homily was probably, but not definitely, written in 1194. However, a measure of confirmation is provided by his 'third' Lenten Homily. For over six years, says Eustathius, men and women have been coming to me to complain about their spouses (*Opusc.*, p. 63/95–6): the implication is that the homily was written six or seven years after Eustathius moved to Thessalonica. In the same homily he mentions a period of some three months' bloody subjugation to barbarians (p. 75/52–3, 69). This must be a reference to the capture of Thessalonica in 1185. Thus the 'third' Lenten Homily was written after the start of 1186. Count back six or seven years, and again we arrive in the region of 1179.

A substantial quantity of evidence now points to the same conclusion: that Eustathius was appointed archbishop, and moved to Thessalonica, in approximately 1179.

One objection remains. Could not Eustathius have been appointed *c.* 1175, but have remained in Constantinople for some years before taking up residence in his see? This suggestion seems to be supported by two letters which Gregory Antiochus sent to Eustathius from Bulgaria. The second letter is addressed simply to Eustathius of Thessalonica, but the lemma to the first is more detailed: 'to the former *maistor ton rhetoron*, the lord Eustathius of Thessalonica'.[53] Yet Gregory Antiochus plainly indicates that his correspondent lives in the capital, for he asks to be sent 'winged words of letters' from Constantinople.[54] However, the lemmas to the works of Gregory Antiochus are notoriously unreliable,[55] so this hypothesis is deprived of its only documentary support.

Whatever his status at the time, Eustathius was resident in Constantinople until *c.* 1179.

Eustathius is probably best known as a classical scholar. His most voluminous extant works are his commentaries on Homer, Pindar and Dionysius Periegetes. Where and when were these commentaries written? It is generally assumed that Eustathius wrote all his major works of scholarship during his Constantinopolitan period.[56] But the evidence is in fact ambiguous. On the one hand, at the end

53 Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', I, p. 287.

54 Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, p. 73/398. On the dates of the letters see A. P. Kazhdan, 'Grigoriy Antiokh', *VV*, XXVI (1965), p. 98.

55 See below, pp. 213–14.

56 Valk, I, pp. CXXXVII–CXXXVIII.

of his commentary on the Iliad (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1324/19) he mentions a Persian boxer who was recently to be seen at the palace; this seems to imply that the commentary was completed in Constantinople. But on the other hand he refers (830/11–12) to a bloody hail near the Axius or Vardar, which presaged the destruction of the neighbouring city: surely this is an allusion to the capture of Thessalonica in 1185? And if so, the commentary cannot have been completed until after that date. Even if, as has been suggested,[57] Eustathius added this passage later, after the bulk of the commentary had already been written, nevertheless one is bound to conclude that he continued to work on, to adjust, to perfect his commentary long after his move to Thessalonica; that he remained a productive scholar.

In Constantinople Eustathius was an active teacher. In his second address to the patriarch Michael III he recalls his students: youths sent forth and guided into life by rhetoric ('τῶν νεανίσκων τούτων, οὓς ἡ ἐπιστατοῦσα ῥητορικὴ συνεξέπεμψεν'), youths who wished to join Eustathius, their chorus-leader, in his praise of the patriarch (*E*, fol. 178). Malaces calls Eustathius' house a true abode of the Muses, a second Academy, a Stoa, a school of Peripatetics; some were instructed in grammar, others in rhetoric, for the refinement of their speech (Malaces, pp. 82/24–83/3). Michael Choniates says much the same thing: how many young men came to Eustathius unable to speak intelligibly, yet now their delivery is precise and clear! (Mich. Ak. I, p. 289/4–8).

Eustathius had distinguished and grateful pupils. Gregory Antiochus was one of them, and he subsequently kept up a correspondence with his teacher.[58] Michael Choniates was another. In a letter to John, one of Eustathius' successors as archbishop of Thessalonica, Michael speaks warmly of that city, for which he retains a special affection, since he had been a pupil of its former archbishop, of blessed memory (Mich. Ak. II, p. 118/7–11). In a letter probably addressed to Nicephorus Comnenus, Eustathius mentions a young pupil named John, who may well have been Nicephorus' son (*Opusc.*, p. 321/70–3).

Eustathius continued to teach after his move to Thessalonica. Parents even sent their children to him from Constantinople (*Esp.*, p. 66/26–7).

[57] Valk, I, p. XIV. [58] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', I, pp. 276–7.

Eustathius' life in Thessalonica is as imperfectly documented as his life in Constantinople. Apparently he did not enjoy the best of relations with his flock, and he often complains of the traps set for him by the local population (*Opusc.*, p. 109/17–19); his enemies are prickly as acanthus, sour as brine and vinegar, and they would be happy to see him dead (p. 66/13–17). In one of his sermons he complains of slanders uttered against him: people claimed that he was senile and that he lacked eloquence (*E*, fols. 361v, 362).[59]

At some time after he took up office, Eustathius had to deal with the 'Lependrenus affair', which he calls a 'war' or a 'revolt' (*Fontes*, I, pp. 17/14–18/4). We know no details of this incident, save that John Ducas was sent to Thessalonica to sort it out. Eustathius makes obscure references to the 'birds of injustice' which, Harpy-like, threatened the entire populace. Eventually he was forced to leave the city.

He sent the inhabitants of Thessalonica a letter in which he claims to have been expelled by hatred: he quit the city because of the hatred of wicked men; savage beasts pursued him and compelled him to flee (*Opusc.*, p. 160/51, 66–71).

When did this take place? In order to establish the chronology, one has first to find other references to the incident. Scholars have claimed to have discovered references in a number of places: in a letter to Eustathius from Michael Choniates, in Eustathius' pamphlet 'Against my Accusers', in his 'second' Lenten Homily, and in a speech delivered to Isaac Angelus in Philippopolis at Easter 1191. But unfortunately none of these works can with any confidence be linked with Eustathius' expulsion. Grumel has shown that Choniates' letter refers not to Eustathius' return after exile, but to his arrival as archbishop.[60] The other three works are all cited as evidence by Wirth.[61] But the pamphlet only concerns Eustathius' opponents in general, and need not relate to the specific events of his expulsion. The same can be said of the Lenten Homily: Wirth suggests that it was written on the eve of Eustathius'

[59] Here also, as in his 'second' Lenten Homily, Eustathius refers to a winter campaign by the emperor. Thus the sermon may have been written in about 1194 when Eustathius would have been nearing eighty years old.

[60] V. Grumel, 'Sur la fuite et le retour de l'archevêque Eustathe de Thessalonique', *REB*, XX (1962), pp. 223–4; see also Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, p. 238.

[61] P. Wirth, 'Die Flucht des Erzbischofs Eustathios aus Thessalonike', *BZ*, LIII (1960), pp. 83–4.

departure; but in fact it only deals with the general hostility of his flock; and the threat of departure is not evidence of expulsion. The speech to Isaac Angelus must be discounted for reasons of chronology: Wirth argues that the Lenten Homily was delivered in February 1191, and that in April of the same year Eustathius was in Philippopolis because he had fled from Thessalonica. But if, as we have suggested, the Homily is to be dated *c.* 1193–4, then the sequence is broken. Taken by itself, the speech to Isaac contains no hint of any expulsion. It is a purely formal address, produced in Philippopolis because that was where Isaac held court at the time. Philippopolis was close to Thessalonica, so the archbishop travelled there to pay his respects to the emperor after a victory.

The most reliable source on Eustathius' expulsion, therefore, remains his letter to the inhabitants of Thessalonica.[62] The date of the letter should lead us to the date of the expulsion.

Eustathius' letter is long and detailed, yet it contains not a word about the city's capture by the Normans, or about the hardships of Norman occupation. Such omissions are unlikely in a letter written after 1185, although the argument from silence does not constitute proof.

The final section of the letter contains the following statement: 'You say that you have a hierarch, a recent ('τὸν ἄρτι') hierarch, me. Your words are accurate, for I exist, even though I do not perform my duties' (*Opusc.*, p. 164/2–4). If, when he wrote the letter, Eustathius had only 'recently' been appointed archbishop, then a pre-1185 date seems appropriate. However, 'ὁ ἄρτι' is ambiguous: it can mean either 'recent' or 'present'.

Eustathius' expression 'ὁ ἄρτι' probably derives from a malicious caricature of him, which was widely circulated in Thessalonica, and which even appeared in the capital (*Opusc.*, p. 98/42–64). Its inscription referred to Eustathius as having been appointed ('ἐπιγεγραμμένος') archbishop of Thessalonica 'τὸν ἄρτι'. The same ambiguity arises.

Although it would appear tautologous to say 'you have a present hierarch', and although the inscription mentions Eustathius' appointment, we still cannot conclude firmly that his expulsion

[62] The letter is not considered by Wirth. It was mentioned in this context by Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro*, p. 354.

took place before 1185. An early date is a fair conjecture, but not a certainty.

Equally obscure is the social identity of Eustathius' critics. Eustathius speaks scathingly of his accusers: they emerged from dim anonymity; one of their leaders was a pauper ('πτωχός') named Leo, who would have died of starvation had he not received alms from the church (*Opusc.*, pp. 253/81–5; 164/8–10). Yet Eustathius was not opposed only by the poor. His enemies included some of the most influential men in Thessalonica. He claims that he was disliked because of his impartiality, because he judged rich and poor alike (p. 109/86–9).

One of the contentious issues seems to have been that of church property. Among his enemies was a certain Aphrates, whom Eustathius accuses of sacrilege, of seizing churches (p. 157/76–7, 84–7). Eustathius campaigned against the 'greedy', and in this he had the support of the civil governor of Thessalonica, David Comnenus (*Esp.*, p. 12/12–14).

After Eustathius fled, his opponents took control of the archiepiscopal see ('ἀρχιεστρατεύουσι'). They initiated a thorough investigation of Eustathius' affairs: how he had lived, what he had said, his judgements, his conversations. 'They would have liked to investigate even my dreams, and the images of my thoughts' (*Opusc.*, p. 164/13–22).

Eventually Eustathius managed to return to Thessalonica. This was possibly the occasion for his dialogues on respect for bishops (the dialogues were contained in an Escorial manuscript which perished in the fire of 1671).[63]

In 1180 Eustathius was involved in the arguments over a formula for the condemnation of Moslems. He was against the proposals which were supported by Manuel I.

In 1185 the archbishop and his flock had to suffer the siege and capture of Thessalonica by the Normans. Eustathius' account of this event, written before February 1186 (i.e. just after the city was liberated),[64] is one of his most distinguished works. And the

[63] J. Darrouzès, 'Des oeuvres perdues d'Eustathe de Thessalonique', *REB*, XXI (1963), p. 234.

[64] *Esp.*, p. XXIV; Hunger, *Die Normannen in Thessalonike*, p. 147. E. Leone considers that the first draft was complete by February 1186, but that it was later revised and polished: see his review of *Esp.* in *Paideia*, XVIII (1963), pp. 187–8; *idem*, 'Conjectures sur la composition de "La prise de Thessalonique" d'Eustathe', *Byz.*, XXXIV (1964), pp. 267–8.

Norman attack becomes a recurrent theme in many of his later writings (e.g. *Opusc.*, pp. 84/81–3; 156/49).

Eustathius' 'Capture of Thessalonica' is composed in two parts. The first part traces Andronicus I's road to power, and the second tells the story of the city's capitulation, and of the miseries which befell its inhabitants. The first part is, by and large, hostile to the fallen tyrant Andronicus, whom Eustathius holds responsible both for the Norman attack, and for the defencelessness of Thessalonica. Eustathius admits that he himself had been slow to discern Andronicus' true nature (*Esp.*, p. 14/19–22).

In the second part we learn what happened to the archbishop after the city was captured. He fell into the hands of Siphantus, a former pirate (*Esp.*, p. 106/31–4), who treated him tolerably well: he allowed Eustathius to rest, then fed him and dispatched him on horseback to the harbour where his (Siphantus') ship was moored (p. 108/1–6). Siphantus thought that Eustathius would be worth a ransom. But Eustathius did not stay long in captivity: he was released, probably with the help of the Byzantine renegade Alexius Comnenus, and was accommodated by friends (pp. 110/12–112/10).

During this period Eustathius was in constant contact with the Latins. He was neither too proud to flatter them, nor too frightened to rebuke them; he discussed religion with them; and he enjoyed the support of count Aldwin (pp. 126/26–128/2; 128/20–1; 150/9).

Eustathius' behaviour was not, as we shall see, simply a ploy to survive, despite his own claims (pp. 110/7–10; 112/12–14; 138/11–13). He had been sympathetic towards the Latins even during the reign of Manuel I, and this undoubtedly made his position more bearable in occupied Thessalonica.

Eustathius was in Thessalonica during 1193 and 1194. We know of sermons written by him at the time.[65] He was still alive in February 1195: a lost Lenten Homily, datable by its extant lemma, is his last known work. From that date onwards he vanishes from the records. In 1196/7 the see of Thessalonica was occupied by Constantine Mesopotamites;[66] Eustathius may already have been dead.[67]

[65] Darrouzès, 'Des oeuvres perdues', p. 233, no. 8/14.
[66] V. Laurent, 'La succession épiscopale de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIII siècle', *BZ*, LVI (1963), p. 286. See below, p. 227.
[67] P. Wirth, 'Ein neuer Terminus ante quem non für das Ableben des Erzbischofs Eustathios

Byzantine biographers rarely reveal what Byzantine writers looked like,[68] but Malaces provides some curious details: Eustathius was short in stature, unprepossessing in appearance, unlikely to attract the attention of a passing stranger (Malaces, p. 82/1–3). Eustathius lived to a venerable old age, though long troubled by illness: in one of his letters he complains of an affliction which kept him in bed from July to October (*Opusc.*, p. 332/87–9); and he writes to Euthymius Malaces that his stomach aches, his hands shake, and that in general he is only half-alive (*Opusc.*, pp. 349/95–350/16).

One could not describe Eustathius' life as easy, or even as especially privileged. He started his career as a minor official in the patriarchal chancery, and only after he had passed fifty was he finally rewarded with any remotely stable or comfortable job. Yet even when he became a deacon and *maistor ton rhetoron* (when he reached what he himself called the 'promised land'), still he never felt secure, and still he had to write to the patriarch with humiliating entreaties not to be deprived of his pay and his rations. Gregory Antiochus might have thought that Eustathius lived in the heavens while he, Gregory, slithered along on earth (see below, p. 201); but Eustathius' heavens were not all sweetness and light.

A major scholar and a distinguished orator, Eustathius was forced to beg for patronage among the nobility. His most constant protector was the grandson of Anna Comnena, Nicephorus, who later became *dux* of Nicomedia, governor of Cos (*Opusc.*, p. 319/90–3), and eventually master of petitions.[69] Nicephorus died in the prime of life, leaving three children.[70] Probably between 1171 and 1179 Eustathius wrote a monody on him addressed to his (Nicephorus') father, John Ducas.[71]

With Nicephorus' brother, to whom Eustathius refers simply as

von Thessalonike', *BZ*, LIV (1961), pp. 86–7; Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 427, puts Eustathius' death between 1195 and 1198.

[68] An exception is the description of Anna Comnena in the funeral oration by George Tornices, metropolitan of Ephesus: see J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), p. 247/14–25; on Byzantine literary portraiture see Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 230–43.

[69] *Opusc.*, p. 341/34–5; Kurtz, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 290, title.

[70] Kurtz, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 286–7.

[71] Kurtz, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 285, dates this monody to 1173. His *terminus post quem*, doubtless correct, is 1171; but he picks as his *terminus ante quem* 1175, solely on the grounds that this was the year of Eustathius' departure. In view of the evidence discussed above, the monody should be dated to between 1171 and 1179.

Ducas, relations were less cordial. Eustathius complained that Ducas was slandering him, and he asked Nicephorus to arbitrate (*Opusc.*, pp. 318/2–3, 46–7, 62–3; 324/11–16).

Eustathius did, however, benefit from the patronage of another John Ducas, the son of the *megas drungarios* Andronicus Camaterus.[72] It was to John that he dedicated his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes. This John Ducas was a high official. Possibly he was master of petitions and grand hetaireiarch under Manuel I, eparch of the city under Alexius II, and logothete of the dromos under Isaac II. If so (such reconstructions have to be tentative), then he served mainly in the civil side of the administration. Eustathius is the only writer to record the military successes of the grand hetaireiarch John Ducas in wars against the Hagarenes and on the banks of the Danube (*Fontes*, I, pp. 19/20–20/4). The dedication of Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes records that John was yet to become master of petitions. Since he was already grand hetaireiarch (a subsequent appointment) by 1170, one may assume that the commentary on Dionysius was written some considerable time before that year. John Ducas also seems to have been the recipient of a letter 'to the *sebastos* and grand hetaireiarch', in which Eustathius expresses gratitude for help given (*Opusc.*, p. 344/69–71).[73]

Another eminent man who received letters from Eustathius was the logothete of the dromos Michael Hagiotheodorites, of whose successful career under Manuel I we have already spoken. In an unpublished speech to the logothete Michael (*E*, fols. 357–61) Eustathius complains of his poverty, praises the logothete and his brothers, and asks for their help. This letter was probably written somewhat later than the letters to Nicephorus Comnenus. It is calmer in tone, even though its main purpose is similarly to obtain assistance: this assistance was to be offered both because of Michael's generous concern for society, and for personal reasons ('ἰδίᾳ') (*Opusc.*, p. 342/46–59).

In the troubled world of service, of patronage and petitions,

[72] On Andronicus see below, pp. 203–4.

[73] The name John Ducas was common, and it is often difficult to sort out its bearers one from another. On Eustathius' John Ducas see D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1965), pp. 127–30; A. P. Kazhdan, 'John Doukas: an Attempt of De-Identification', *Le parole e le idee*, XLIII–XLIV (1969), pp. 242–5; P. Karlin-Hayter, '99. Jean Doukas', *Byz.*, XLII (1972), pp. 259–65.

Eustathius found constant solace in his friends. He was at the centre of a circle of scholars and writers which included Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, Euthymius Malaces, Michael Choniates, and perhaps also Gregory Antiochus and the future patriarch Michael Autorianus (the recipient of a brief letter from Eustathius: *Opusc.*, p. 339/18). One of his very closest friends was Michael Choniates.[74] When Eustathius went to Thessalonica the friends did not lose touch. They continued to write to one another, and when possible to visit. Eustathius records a visit from a friend from Athens, who may well have been Michael Choniates.[75] Just as Eustathius had mourned the death of Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, so his friends honoured his grave with gifts, which were perhaps over-florid, but nevertheless sincere.

2. SOCIAL VIEWS

Eustathius' rhetoric can appear alarmingly opaque. He can ramble inconsequentially and interminably. His imagery and ideas are conventional. He gushes with extravagant praise of the current ruler, whose greatness outshines that of all heroes of the past, present, and even of the future.[76] It is far from easy to locate the 'real' Eustathius, the historical person behind this seemingly impenetrable façade. Yet the curious fact is that among those who knew him Eustathius had a reputation as a writer on contemporary social issues, as one whose pen was employed in the continuing struggle against evil. According to Malaces, Eustathius wrote for the betterment of his flock; he unmasked hidden vices; he attacked evil and those who practised it, especially those whose greed was detrimental to towns and churches (Malaces, pp. 79/13–80/29). Malaces provides no specific details, but we cannot afford to ignore what he says. Who were Eustathius' adversaries? What was his notion of evil? What positive standards did he uphold, and how did he translate these standards into social policy?

In his most general utterances Eustathius affirms the immutable order of life on earth, and of the social structure established therein.

[74] See Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, p. 142.
[75] P. Wirth, 'Das religiöse Leben in Thessalonike unter dem Episkopat des Eustathios im Urteil von Zeitgenossen', *Ostkirkliche Studien*, IX (1960), pp. 293–4.
[76] See Kurtz, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 296/218–20.

2. Social views

In society, as in nature and all of God's creation, there are distinctions between the higher and the lower. One should therefore honour the high and the glorious, while the lower should learn to love their lot and to remain within their prescribed limits. The noble is raised above the humble not by accident or by personal whim, but by sublime and omnipotent design (*Opusc.*, p. 80/84–96).

Many people, says Eustathius, claim that the distinction between higher and lower is incompatible with freedom. Such people would doubtless object to the inequality between teacher and pupil, shepherd and flock, or leader and led. Should children be disobedient to their parents? Should slaves be disobedient to their masters? No, inequality exists everywhere; old men cannot pretend to be children; nor should the head of a household descend to the level of his slaves in an attempt to eliminate the inequalities which divide them. Unhappy indeed would be the town or village, the estate or the settlement, the desert waste, where, among the inhabitants beloved of God, one could find nobody of superior spirit, righteousness and morality. Just so (Eustathius wheels out the old analogy) the limbs of a human body perform their functions, while the head rises above them as their lord. The 'scientific' argument is reinforced with religious sanction: the truly outstanding man is the man of God; he who opposes inequality opposes God's will (*Opusc.*, pp. 28/57–29/50).

Thus in principle Eustathius has no objection to wealth. He takes the example of Job (who obtained immense riches) to demonstrate that God does not forbid the just, even the apparently excessive, accumulation of possessions (*Opusc.*, p. 230/53–9). The archbishop is irritated by the pauper who moans about hunger, cold and nakedness (p. 219/2–5). There are some (muses Eustathius) who cannot understand why to one set of people the Lord gave great houses and estates, rich coffers and many servants, while others are poor as a snake's sloughed skin; speculation of this kind is senseless; if your 'brother' has nothing, then God wills it so (pp. 135/25–37; 137/3–5; 138/48). Eustathius takes pride in the fact that he himself is not poor (p. 83/48–9).

Perhaps there was, after all, some justification for the charges which Malaces so indignantly denied: that Eustathius had grown over-fond of riches, had accumulated great piles of wealth, and

happily accepted rather dubious gifts (Malaces, p. 82/6–9). The pirate Siphantus might have made a perfectly reasonable calculation when he demanded from Eustathius four thousand gold pieces as the price of release (*Esp.*, p. 108/15).

Eustathius' admiration of wealth is tempered by a pious disapproval of abuses. He rebukes those who rob and torment their fellow-humans; and those for whom another man's bread is always softer, appropriated wine is sweeter, stolen water is more pleasant, and for whom paradise is another man's house (*Opusc.*, pp. 14/14–19; 22/45–8; 133/52–4). Nevertheless one cannot help being struck by the way in which Eustathius discriminates between various categories of the deserving: it is wrong to take another's land, *especially* land dedicated to churches; one should not steal land which belongs to God and His saints (*Opusc.*, pp. 72/6–8; 83/18–19). Or, in a remarkably candid logical development of the same point: What is mercy? The truly merciful man is not he who takes pity on an elderly pauper, but he who sympathizes with the metropolitan of Thessalonica (p. 65/91–4).

But whatever we may wish to read into them, Eustathius' statements on wealth are largely conventional. He is far more original in his comments on social gradation.

Byzantine juridical texts stick firmly to the classical division between slaves and free men; but rhetoric and historiography normally introduce a different kind of social categorization. The simplest schema – also twofold – splits people into the 'great' and the 'small', or the 'powerful' and the 'destitute', though the criteria for distinguishing the two might vary. Sometimes the measure was wealth (rich and poor), sometimes rank (senators and commoners), and sometimes birth (noble and humble).[77] 'Great' and 'small' tended to include only those at either end of the social scale, so that a further 'intermediate' or 'average' category could be introduced to fill the gap.

A more elaborate classification was by what one might call 'profession'. In the ninth century Photius lists peasants, gardeners, pilots and shepherds.[78] In the eleventh century Cecaumenus

[77] For examples see Nic. Chon. *Orat. et ep.*, p. 6/18–19; *Fontes*, I, p. 199/26–8; D. C. Hesseling, H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam, 1910), p. 32/69.

[78] Photius, *Homiliai*, ed. B. Laourdas (Thessalonica, 1959), p. 134/13–21; cf. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 230.

reproduces the same list, but with the curious substitution of merchants for gardeners (Cec., p. 306/2–3).

Photius and Cecaumenus only classify a limited section of the population. Psellus tries to be comprehensive. On one occasion he divides society into senators (i.e. the highest levels of the bureaucracy), monks, the urban plebs, and those involved in agriculture and trade; and elsewhere he speaks of the plebs, the senate and the army (Psellus, *Chron.* II, pp. 83; 108).[79]

Finally, social groups could be distinguished by function. There was the twofold division into clergy and laymen (*Fontes*, II, p. 312/16). Attaleiates lists four groups: senators, 'people of the market', priests and monks (Attal., p. 270/5–9). The Continuator of Scylitzes reduces this to three: *archontes*, townspeople and clergy (Scyl. Cont., p. 177/22–4).[80]

Eustathius also uses a three-part formula, but he constructs it somewhat differently. He applies his formula on several occasions, not always with the same degree of clarity or precision. On one occasion he states that the population of Constantinople consists of the 'great', the 'small' and the 'middling' (*Esp.*, p. 32/8), though here he does not reveal who falls into which category. Elsewhere he speaks of the 'middling', the crowd which is subject to them, and at the top the 'λογαδικοὶ ἄνδρες' (i.e. the elect) (*Opusc.*, p. 207/3–6). In classical Greek 'λογάδες' could be 'select soldiers', and it is possible that Eustathius has in mind the military aristocracy. Indeed, when speaking of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, he produces a tripartite classification analogous to the western feudal principle of three orders: soldiers, clergy and ordinary people (*Esp.*, p. 6/3–14).

Eustathius' tripartite schema is very similar to the more detailed classification proposed by Nicetas Choniates. Choniates also gives pride of place to the soldiery; then come priests, followed by monks; after the clerics come those who are part of the 'assembly of people'; and finally there are those who make their living by 'scales and exchange', that is, the merchants (Nic. Chon. *Orat. et ep.*, pp. 124/8–125/6). The 'people' who are placed higher than the

[79] See H. G. Beck, 'Kirche und Klerus im staatlichen Leben von Byzanz', *REB*, XXIV (1966), p. 1; (repr. in idem, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (London, 1972), pt. XIV).

[80] See above, pp. 46, 80; further on social classification in Byzantium see Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav*, pp. 29–30; 66–8.

merchants, are not likely to be equivalent to the 'small', the mob. As in western Europe, so for Choniates and possibly for Eustathius as well, ordinary labourers do not count.

Thus Eustathius' (and Choniates') classification of society departs from Byzantine convention, and approaches that of the medieval west.

The social pre-eminence which Eustathius awards to the military is to some extent complemented by the respect with which he regards nobility. He glorifies the noble lineage of the emperors Manuel I and Andronicus I (*Opusc.*, p. 197/58; *Esp.*, p. 36/26), who could boast a long line of eminent ancestors. One might dismiss such sentiments as empty commonplaces (eulogies normally commenced with praise of ancestors or parents), but in his monody on the death of Nicephorus Comnenus Eustathius sets descent from 'the sources of nobility' above great learning and reason.[81] In his commentary on the Iliad he declares that, according to the principle of nobility ('εὐγένεια') the eminence of ancestors and grandfathers tends to be transmitted to their descendants; he speaks of ancestral virtues which are to be imitated (Valk, II, p. 35/18–19; Valk, III, pp. 18/19–19/2; *Comm. ad Hom.* 1199/31). He does, however, admit that nobility of action is superior to nobility of birth (Valk, II, pp. 60/19–23; 294/6–11).

Eustathius does not confine his sympathies only to the very highest levels of the nobility, to the Comneni and their closest associates. He commends Manuel I for his conscientious care not only for the magnates, but also for 'the people': in a crowded gathering Manuel found a way to talk to each person individually (*Opusc.*, p. 206/89–96). Naturally the term 'people' ('λαός') is here used in a rather narrow sense: a gathering at which Manuel spoke with everybody in turn cannot have been open for all to attend. Eustathius' 'people' is not the common throng, but a lower level of the ruling class.

We recall the famous complaint of Nicetas Choniates about Manuel I: the emperor pandered to the greed of his soldiers by granting them the income from their *paroikoi*. Choniates has no objection to this privilege when properly allotted, but Manuel handed it out indiscriminately to everybody; the effect was to

[81] Kurtz, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 301/404–6.

dampen the fighting spirit of his 'good troops', who quite justifiably considered that they alone deserved to benefit from the emperor's generosity; but now anybody who liked could get into the army; many people now quit their former occupations and, as often as not with the aid of a bribe (a 'Persian' horse, or a few gold coins), they managed to be included in the military lists, and so obtained huge quantities of land (Nic. Chon., pp. 208/21–209/43).

Choniates' caustic irony can produce as much exaggeration as Eustathius' lavish praise. Choniates' 'everybody' and 'anybody who liked' does not actually mean everybody, or even anybody who liked. Generous bribes are normally offered by those who are already relatively well-off. Ordinary folk, such as tailors, potters and smiths, would hardly have been in a position to provide fine horses.[82] Like Eustathius, Choniates is in fact referring to the lower ranks of the ruling class.

The comparison extends further. Like Choniates, Eustathius writes of Manuel's generosity, of the flow of his imperial benefactions.[83] Among Manuel's many activities (legislation, judicial administration, military recruitment) Eustathius singles out as especially important the establishment of grants in *pronoia* ('οἰκονομιῶν τύποι') (*Fontes*, I, p. 5/29). But whereas Choniates considers that Manuel's handouts helped weaken the empire, Eustathius asks that the rivers of imperial benefaction be allowed to flow yet more freely (*Fontes*, I, p. 15/22–3).

Choniates complains that the recipients of imperial gifts are among the most miserable specimens of humanity, half-barbarians, who collect the taxes of true citizens far more virtuous than themselves (Nic. Chon., p. 209/45–9). Eustathius often mentions the barbarians at Manuel's court, but he shows none of Choniates' contempt for them. There is, he announces, no foreign[84] country from which the emperor has not gathered noble fruit; the foreigners have been gathered from east, north, west and south; one can name no nation which has not mixed with us; immigrants have recognized the emperor's generosity and have made their homes

[82] Further on this passage see P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium* (Galway, 1979), pp. 230–4.

[83] Kurtz, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 300/368; cf. also 296/223–4. In Eustathius' second address to Michael III he refers to Manuel as 'our most generous emperor' ('τῷ εὐεργετικωτάτῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ') (*E*, fol. 167).

[84] See the conjecture by Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, p. 49.

among us: before Manuel they were slaves, dreaming of escape and sharpening their swords for use against their rulers, but now they have become soldiers (*Opusc.*, pp. 81/5–11; 200/11–47). Eustathius also describes them as a choice pearl in the imperial crown (*Fontes*, I, p. 94/22–5).

Eustathius' social sympathies begin to be dimly visible, illuminated by the comparison with Nicetas Choniates. Eustathius and Choniates both held strong opinions about the lower strata of the Byzantine ruling class, whose numbers included a substantial foreign element. Choniates disapproved, Eustathius approved. Their differing opinions perhaps reflect their differing social backgrounds.[85]

Eustathius portrays Manuel I as an ideal soldier, and in this too one suspects that he is echoing the opinions and values of those in his own social environment. Manuel ignored danger, and took greater pride in his wounds than in the brightness of his diadem; he personally joined his soldiers in the construction of fortifications, hewing stones and carrying them himself;[86] he slept little, and his diet was modest; he preferred to travel on foot; he patiently endured cold and heat, hunger and thirst; none could equal his steadfast perseverance (*Opusc.*, pp. 209/27–210/24; *Fontes*, I, p. 4/8–11; *E*, fol. 42v).[87]

Eustathius' 'chivalric' image of Manuel is very similar to the image of the same emperor as presented by Cinnamus,[88] and very different from that conveyed by Nicetas Choniates (e.g. Nic. Chon., pp. 53/67–70; 60/35–44). Choniates does not dispute Manuel's military talents, but they are overshadowed by the emperor's degenerate morals, fiscal abuses, and by his arrogant treatment of his subjects.

Military virtues always stimulate Eustathius' admiration. He praises the 'good' Lapardas as a wise general (*Esp.*, p. 22/5). He writes a panegyric for the grand hetaireiarch John Ducas, in which he particularly stresses John's military prowess (even though other

[85] On the disagreement between Choniates and Eustathius over the Council of 1166 see P. Classen, 'Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner', *BZ*, XLVIII (1955), pp. 339–40.

[86] Wirth, 'Kaiser Manuel I Komnenos und die Ostgrenze', p. 25/19–25.

[87] On Eustathius' image of Manuel see also C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 23–4.

[88] See M. M. Freydenberg, 'Trud Kinnama kak istoricheskiy istochnik', *VV*, XVI (1959), p. 50.

sources indicate that John was not primarily a military commander, but a diplomat and a civil official): from his youth John had fought the Hagarenes, and he subsequently gained a glorious victory on the Istrus; the very depths of Europe were soaked in the sweat of John Ducas, as if in fertile rain, and thence grew the succulent shoots of great deeds which produced a golden harvest of praise (*Fontes*, I, pp. 19/21–20/4).

The leaders of the civil administration are presented in a very different light. David Comnenus, governor of Thessalonica, was 'small in his virtues, great in his incompetence' (*Esp.*, p. 81/32). Eustathius then fills out this general condemnation with specific illustrations of David's unpleasant behaviour: David did not ride a horse, nor did he take up arms; instead he rode around the beleaguered city on a mule, showing off his breeches and his new boots; his utterly civilian garb was crowned by a Georgian felt hat which shielded him from the sun (*Esp.*, p. 82/6–12).

The absurdity of David's clothes typified the absurdity of his actions. It never occurred to him to prepare a defence: there was no bread in the city; the cistern was given useless, cosmetic repairs, and it immediately started leaking again, so that the inhabitants were left without water (*Esp.*, pp. 76/15–17; 78/1–14). The catapults were incomparably weaker than those of the Normans; there were not enough arrows, nor was there wood for the repair of military machines; and the governor merely shrugged his shoulders and made such useful comments as 'It can't be helped' or 'What do you expect me to do about it?' (*Esp.*, pp. 74/29–76/5).

When officers continued to point out serious miscalculations, David threatened them with beatings, blinding and other severe forms of discipline (p. 76/7–8), yet he informed Constantinople that the city lacked nothing, that it was primed to repulse the Norman aggressor. His biggest worry was that inspectors would arrive from the capital: he lived in fear of punishment for his inactivity. He would rather surrender Thessalonica and flee than reveal the true state of affairs (p. 70/13–30).

As the Normans approached the city, reinforcements and supplies were desperately needed, yet still the governor maintained his disgraceful performance. Message after message was dispatched to Constantinople claiming success in engagement with the enemy, and announcing the first victories for the Byzantine forces. One

Norman soldier did chance to be captured, and David arranged a triumphal parade: the prisoner was decked out in luxurious clothes, as if he was a senior commander, and the emperor was informed of the victory. The defending forces managed to seize a couple of horses, and a Norman helmet: these, too, provided an excuse for a parade and a dispatch to the capital. Ten Byzantines succeeded in scaring off two of the enemy: another ceremony, another letter to the emperor (pp. 68/20–32; 70/1–6).

Falsified dispatches might stave off the wrath of superiors, but not the advance of the Normans. The enemy troops breached the walls of the city, dug themselves into position, and bombarded the garrison from bows and catapults. And all the while David hid in the shadows so as to escape both the arrows and the sun (p. 82/19–23). Finally the Normans burned the beams which supported the roof of the tunnel entrance: the wall collapsed; the governor instantly leapt onto his mule and fled to the citadel for refuge. Not once had he held a weapon; not once had he stained his hands with the blood of the enemy (p. 102/3–10).

Eustathius paints an equally damning portrait of another civil official, Stephen Hagiochristophorites, nicknamed Antichristophorites. Stephen was of 'intermediate' rank, the son of a tax-collector. He tried unsuccessfully to woo a noblewoman, for which indiscretion his nose was cut off and he was soundly whipped. The impudent Stephen, however, was quite unaffected by this punishment, and he continued to behave with shameless abandon. He even made capital out of his own disfiguration: he acted like a clown, calling himself a 'flower of evil', and gradually his career advanced (pp. 44/22–46/27).

However differently Nicetas Choniates viewed Manuel I and his military cronies, he regards the bureaucrats David Comnenus and Stephen Hagiochristophorites with the same undisguised contempt as does Eustathius (Nic. Chon., pp. 293/10–294/14; 297/9–298/20). Choniates is, if anything, even more harsh than Eustathius in his criticism of the civil bureaucracy (cf. p. 483/48–60). But his attacks are delivered from a slightly different angle: his attitude is aristocratic.

One might expect that ridicule of jumped-up officialdom would have been commonplace in Byzantine literature, but this was not the case. For Eustathius nobility of service is inseparable from

nobility of descent, and the antithesis of 'noble' (and of 'imperial servant') is 'a born slave' ('δουλέκδουλος') (*E*, fol. 41v). But Symeon the Theologian, early in the eleventh century, speaks warmly of the man whom the emperor has plucked from extreme poverty and raised to glorious rank and riches, clothing him in magnificent garments and granting him access to the imperial presence. This man, in Symeon's view, worships the emperor, loves him as a benefactor, for he clearly knows from whom he has received his clothes, his rank and his wealth. Such a man, summoned from nowhere into the presence of the emperor, is like the true monk summoned to the presence of Christ.[89]

To return to Eustathius: he uses two separate sets of images to convey an impression of two separate sections of society. On the one side there is the military ideal which Eustathius so admired. And on the other side there are the symbols of the Byzantine administrative machine: base and cowardly officials, whom Eustathius ridicules in such a way as to condemn by implication the entire bureaucratic system, with its lies, its empty display, its total lack of concern for the common good, its readiness to sacrifice an entire city just to gratify its own petty vanities (*Esp.*, p. 70/27–30).

Eustathius had experienced personally the meddlesomeness of tax officials. In one of his letters he asks his correspondent (Nicephorus Comnenus?) to use his influence to help Eustathius deal with the obdurate bully who quite blatantly ignored all Eustathius' neighbours in order to persecute Eustathius alone. Eustathius' run-down plot of land was surrounded by the properties of rich men, among them the monks of the monastery of the Pantocrator; but this tax official touched none of them; his path led only to Eustathius (*Opusc.*, p. 322/70–88). The particulars of the dispute are unclear, but Eustathius' irritation is plain.

Taxes are for him almost an obsession. He speaks of natural and monetary levies (*E*, fol. 57v); he pities the poor farmers who have to pay taxes each year (fol. 164v); he praises Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, who took up arms against injustice, and who, during a revision of taxes ('τὰ τῆς ἐξισώσεως'), acquired in the Peloponnese a fame which eclipsed the deeds of Aristides and the legislation of Solon (fol. 36v).

[89] See A. P. Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya o mirovozzrenii vizantiyskogo mistika X-XI vv. Simeona', *VV*, xxviii (1967), pp. 15–16.

Michael Choniates, in his epitaph on Eustathius, strongly reinforces the impression gained from Eustathius' own words. When the good archbishop died, night descended on Thessalonica, and beasts and robbers were now able to prowl at will; the city became easy prey for the tax-collectors (Mich. Ak. I, p. 300/21–4). So, at least in the opinion of his pupil, Eustathius had defended his flock against the fiscal agents.

Among other social groups, Eustathius pays close attention to the problems of monks and monasticism. Ideally a monk is a heavenly being, an intermediary between God and man (*Opusc.*, pp. 246/7–8; 257/21). But reality falls far short of the ideal. Again, in his criticism of contemporary corruptions of monasticism Eustathius cuts through conventions and clichés and creates an array of individual portraits and vivid scenes of monastic life. He wrote a treatise on the subject.[90]

If (relates Eustathius) an educated man wishes to enter a monastery, the brethren reject him instantly, hurling abuse at him like stones; but monastic gates are always wide and welcoming for the ignoramus (*Opusc.*, p. 244/72–82). Thieves and robbers often tonsure themselves and pretend to be monks (p. 236/80–3). And how many monks continue to dabble in the affairs of this world! They trade, grow vines, breed cattle (p. 229/19–25). Such people are prepared to sacrifice only their hair, but they happily retain all other earthly encumbrances (p. 229/9–10).

Eustathius is particularly incensed by avarice in monks. Just mention the name of a rich man, and monks immediately cluster around him with inducements to part with his money: they invite him to visit, take him to warm baths, regale him with fine food and drink. Then they add the spiritual inducements: they promise him salvation without effort. And the unfortunate man is thus deceived, caught in the trap, while the monks grow rich at his expense (pp. 242/84–93; 243/20–34).

The rich are not the only sufferers. Woe betide the poor man unlucky enough to live next door to a monastery! He will be subjected to constant harassment, as the monks wait for the chance

[90] 'On the Improvement of Monastic Life': the work is mentioned in passing by Beck, *Kirche*, p. 635; see also A. Neander, 'Charakteristik des Eustathios von Thessalonich in seiner reformatorischen Richtung', *Philol. und hist. Abh. der k. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, I, 1841 (1843), p. 78.

to appropriate his vineyard, his field or his house. Monks make slaves of their neighbours. Better to be attacked by barbarians than to live in close proximity to the holy fathers (pp. 243/89–244/13; 260/45–6).

Picture a meeting of the brotherhood. Hearken to the discourse of the abbot: he speaks not of God, not of the affairs of the spirit, but of vineyards and of meadows and of rents ('εἰσπράξεων φορολογικῶν'). He discusses which vineyard yields the best wine, which plot of land is the most fertile, which are the monastery's best sources of income; he talks of labourers, of olive oil and of figs (that is, of the income from the sale of figs, not of the parable of the fig-tree) (pp. 258/57–259/11). The monks debate how best to store bread and to sell at better prices; how best to manage the wine; how to preserve grape-pips and bran for distribution to the poor in time of famine (p. 242/26–34).

Eustathius incessantly complains of the ignorance of monks. Monks sell books without knowing their real value. What skills can one expect from a virtually uneducated monk? He can loll around the streets; he knows his way in the market; he can taste the difference between good wine and bad; and he can wield a club to carry out a robbery (pp. 249/59–82; 245/7–30).

In their behaviour monks are no different from anybody else: they even ride on horseback (p. 255/36–41). They push in crowds, they swear in the market, they have intercourse with women. Though they normally mask the upper half of their faces, the black hood jumps smartly above eye-level as soon as its wearer notices any indecency worth observing (p. 250/29–44). Monks are lazy, though they will never admit it (p. 252/9–17). Monks may wear heavenly garb, but they are rooted in the earth as firmly as mandragora (p. 250/58–61).

Eustathius is hardly more sympathetic to hermits than he is to monastic communities. The hermit, he says in his panegyric on St Philotheus of Opsicium, cares only about himself: he therefore seeks places of solitude, hides in caves and in holes in the ground, so as to escape the throng of the market-place. Eustathius admits that it is indeed admirable to fight the tribe of demons in solitude, where God the King is one's only spectator and referee ('ἀγωνοθέτης'). But those who fight the foe in the full glare of public attention should feel no shame by comparison: their deeds surpass those of

the hermit. The hermit runs along a smooth track, with no real obstacles, while the public contestants vie on a battlefield strewn with stones and spikes. The harder their struggle, the greater their honour. The sun doubtless continues to be beautiful as it passes unseen beneath the earth, but it is infinitely more brilliant when it rises and makes its beauty manifest to all (*Opusc.*, p. 148/37–87).

Philotheus did not emaciate his flesh. Unlike misers, he did not hoard superficial treasures to the detriment of his real spiritual wealth. Quite the contrary: what wealth he had, he used; he gathered the various riches of the earth, allowing the excess burden ('τὸ πέριττον φόρτον') to be taken by the poor; and thus he walked the divine ('θεῖα') the truly straight ('εὐθεῖα') path (p. 147/76–89).[91]

The sceptical attitude towards monastic asceticism is even echoed in Eustathius' commentaries on Homer. The Cyclopes who, 'trusting in the immortal god [Homer had 'gods' in the plural] plant nothing and dwell in hollow caves' (*Od.* XI, 107–8, 113–14) are analogous with the 'anchorites of our own time' (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1618/31), who seek to escape from cities and to dwell on lofty mountains and in caves, and who neither plant nor labour in any other way, but receive goods without sowing or ploughing. A Byzantine reader would surely be reminded of the 'fowls of the air' (Matth. 6:26), who 'sow not, neither do they reap'.

This association of hermits with Cyclopes seems to explain a number of Eustathius' etymological digressions. He gives three derivations for the word 'ἀσκητής': one from 'ἀσκηθής' ('unscathed'); one from 'ἀκεῖσθαι' ('to cure, make amends'); but one from 'ἀσκός' ('wineskin') (Valk, III, pp. 48/15–16; 609/6–7). Even more pointed are his remarks on the word 'λαῦρα', denoting a group of monastic cells. After the innocent explanation that the word originally meant a narrow lane or alley (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1921/56), Eustathius unexpectedly comments that the compound 'σποδησιλαῦρα' (literally a streetwalker) means a whore ('πόρνη', 'χαμαιτύπη'). Thus the pious term 'λαῦρα' acquires distinctly unsavoury connotations. Furthermore, 'χαμαιτύπη' calls to mind 'χαμαιευνάδες' ('sleeping on the ground'), a word which Eustathius, following Homer, regularly uses with reference to pigs

[91] cf. also Eustathius' mockery of a hypocritical hermit in his treatise 'On Hypocrisy', *Opusc.*, p. 97/33–65; see P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century', in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), p. 55.

(*Comm. ad Hom.* 1575/51; 1656/42–7; 1748/61–2; Valk, III, p. 845/14). Sleeping on the ground is an eremitic virtue.[92] Does Eustathius mean to imply that hermits are pig-like as well?

Eustathius would not like to see monasticism abolished, but it must be reformed. In particular, severe restraints must be imposed to limit monastic wealth and power. Not only should individual monks, in the cause of salvation, renounce their personal property, but the wealth of the monastery itself must be restricted. There is no justification for a small monastery to own huge estates. Unfit monks ought to be expelled. And monasteries should be deprived of their administrative autonomy: why should monks be ruled by nobody when all other people have a ruler? (*Opusc.*, pp. 219/42–5; 222/45–9; 229/83; 252/31–253/66).

Monks enjoy an unacceptable degree of independence both from bishops and from the civil authorities. They must start to show obedience to the church hierarchy (*Opusc.*, pp. 215/86–94; 247/25–39; 248/60–8; 255/1–2; 262/8–34); and they must be made subject to secular authority. Eustathius applauds those emperors who brought large monasteries under the control of secular *archontes*: thus the good monks become free to devote themselves entirely to divine pursuits, while the secular administrator deals with the day-to-day maintenance of the house. In monasteries which are unfortunate enough to be without a secular overseer, the monks have to worry about their own material well-being: instead of the Psalter their hands clasp counterfeit coins and the scales of injustice, and their fingers become trained in the deception of peasants (*Opusc.*, p. 244/33–61).

Eustathius' attitude to monasticism complements his attitude to military authority. Secular control over the monasteries, as advocated by Eustathius, would surely have suited the interests of Manuel I and his entourage.

The question of *charistikia*, of the granting of rights over monastic property, was not new in twelfth-century Byzantium, but few contemporary Byzantine writers supported *charistikia* as strongly as Eustathius. Again, comparisons can be revealing.

The most demonstrative opponent of *charistikia* was John V Oxeites, patriarch of Antioch in the reign of Manuel I's grandfather,

[92] e.g. *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, I, ed. P. van den Ven (Paris, 1962), p. 3/23; *AASS*, Sept., III, p. 875A.

Alexius I.[93] John Oxeites bitterly attacked Alexius' fiscal policy,[94] and in a speech delivered in front of the emperor he described the consequent disastrous situation in the country.[95] John's view may be taken to reflect the general mood of those who disapproved of the Comnenian policy.

John values monasticism very highly indeed: all of the faithful, he asserts, honour monasticism and consider its ways divine. Like Symeon the Theologian he ascribes to monks the role of confessors.[96] Like Eustathius, though much less pointedly, he notes monastic corruption of and by the world: temptations arise; monks seek secular offices; monks even sit at the gates of prominent people and throng around their tables.[97]

For Eustathius *charistikia* provided a means to combat the corruption of monks by relieving them of secular distraction. John Oxeites believed that *charistikia* had precisely the opposite effect, actually introducing secular business into the monasteries. *Charistikia* made a travesty of the monastic ideal, as monasteries turned into private suburban estates; where *charistikia* flourished, monasticism perished; laymen infiltrated the monastic community, there to feast and sing; *charistikia* turned monks into slaves.[98]

By what right, asks John, are *charistikia* granted? A giver can give only that which he already possesses; but the emperor and the patriarch have the effrontery to distribute land which belongs not to them, but to God.[99]

Thus we find evidence of two opposing points of view with regard to *charistikia*. John V Oxeites was against them, as he was generally against the policies of the Comneni; Eustathius supported them,[100] as he generally supported Manuel Comnenus.

[93] See P. Gautier, 'Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique', *REB*, XXII (1964), pp. 128–35. John's opinions on *charistikia* are examined by P. Lemerle, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charisticaires', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes-rendus* (Jan.–March, 1967), pp. 14–18 (repr. in idem *Le monde de Byzance. Histoire et institutions* (London, 1978), pt. XV).

[94] Chr. Papadopoulos, 'Ho patriarchēs Antiocheias Iōannēs E' Oxeitēs', *EEBS*, XII (1936), p. 365.

[95] P. Gautier, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', *REB*, XXVIII (1970), pp. 19–49.

[96] P. Gautier, 'Réquisitoire du Patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB*, XXXIII (1975), l. 221.

[97] Gautier, 'Jean V l'Oxite', pp. 152/23, 29; 148/17.

[98] Gautier, 'Réquisitoire', ll. 348–58, 401–7, 472–6, 510–11, 546–7.

[99] Gautier, 'Réquisitoire', ll. 309–11.

[100] Eustathius' view of *charistikia* is shared by Balsamon: see *PG*, CXXXVII, col. 957B.

Eustathius' comments on monasticism are relatively abundant. His allusions to industry and commerce are far more sporadic. He echoes patristic tradition in condemning usury: we allow a gift to be consumed, and then we force the consumer to vomit forth an even greater quantity than he swallowed; and we apply to this disgusting action the pure and beautiful word 'child' ('τόκος': 'child', 'produce', 'interest')! This is indeed murderous succour, for it causes hunger, emptiness and compulsory fasting (*Opusc.*, p. 163/63–73). On several occasions Eustathius speaks of 'accursed interest' (*Opusc.*, p. 107/83; cf. 73/9–11; *Esp.*, p. 154/27–8).

Eustathius is wary not only of usury, but even of the most ordinary business transactions. As an inhabitant of Constantinople and Thessalonica he could not have survived without the various urban professions, as he readily admits: he needed weavers for his clothes, cobblers for his shoes (*Opusc.*, p. 21/76–9). But he despises trade for profit: the only honourable tradesman is he who earns enough for his keep, but no surplus, and who does not stoop to the ignominy of using his skills for profit ('πλουτοποιοῦ τέχνης') (*Opusc.*, p. 129/76–82). In his Homeric commentaries Eustathius again allows that craftsmen may in principle be fine and honourable men (Valk, III, pp. 749/23; 918/6–8). But trade was more respectable in an economy based on barter: the 'licence of money' is a power which transforms people into slaves (Valk, II, p. 502/12–14).

In the twelfth century the rise and social consolidation of traders and craftsmen perplexed Byzantium's aristocratic intelligentsia, which did not take kindly to these wealthy upstarts.[101] Eustathius shared the general opinion, which derives from the medieval concept of social orders: traders must satisfy the needs of the purchaser, but they must not use their labour to enrich themselves.

The leaders of the Constantinopolitan plebs stir Eustathius to anger and hatred. He recalls how with invisible threads they mobilized and controlled the mob (*Esp.*, p. 42/21–3). He even criticizes the harshness of the plebs' vengeance upon the Latins. It was truly horrific: fires, robberies, the murder of women and children, the death of children yet unborn. The Lord heard the prayers of the Latins (*Esp.*, pp. 34/21–30; 36/3–5).

[101] See above, pp. 109–10.

We conclude, provisionally, that Eustathius belonged to that part of the Byzantine intelligentsia which backed the Comneni and the military élite. His ideal was the 'knightly' Manuel I. And he was antipathetic towards the civil administration, monks, and the urban populace.

Eustathius' social sympathies subsequently shaped his attitude to Andronicus I, whom he roundly condemns. Nor is this simply the ritual condemnation of a deposed usurper, designed to please the new emperor, Isaac Angelus. The terms of Eustathius' criticism make it plain that his objections to the 'tyrant' Andronicus did not stem from mere political expediency.

Where, in Eustathius' view, did Andronicus draw his support? Andronicus skilfully used the plebs, and especially the leaders of the Constantinopolitan mob (*Esp.*, pp. 42/2–6, 20–1; 48/5), and he was also supported by the scum of the senate (i.e. by civilian bureaucrats) (pp. 44/13–14; 48/1–2). The nobility, on the other hand, were solidly against him, and became the chief target of his repressive terror (pp. 54/28; 56/14–16; 70/11–13). It does not matter, in the present context, whether or not Eustathius is correct in his social analysis of Andronicus' support. The point is that he makes a clear distinction between the aristocracy and the bureaucracy: the former resisted Andronicus, the latter welcomed him. Thus Eustathius' discussion of Andronicus I is consistent with the social attitudes which he displays elsewhere.

At first glance it might appear that Eustathius was little more than a servile eulogist of Manuel I, ready to accept and praise whatever pleased the emperor. This impression would be false. Eustathius declared a belief in free speech ('παρρησία'), and he insists that people should have the courage to express exactly what they think, whoever might be listening. Certainly these grand generalizations are subject to the limitations of time, circumstance and decorum: one cannot allow just any expression to escape one's lips, or else free speech degenerates into gossip and slander (*Opusc.*, p. 225/50–4, 71–80). Nevertheless, despite the restraints, Eustathius' call for free speech was not an empty posture: he himself did have the courage to defend his own opinions in front of the emperor, even if he modified his 'παρρησία' with cautious circumlocution.

In 1166 (or perhaps slightly later) he delivered, in the presence of

Manuel I, a speech about the shortage of water in Constantinople. Naturally his criticisms are delicately cloaked in praise: the capital enjoys heavenly abundance, and the only minor deficiency is the lack of water (*Fontes*, I, p. 127/20–3). The populace remembers the emperor's great benefactions; it does not forget who is its lord, its saviour, its provider of food and sustenance (p. 129/7–10). But despite the fawning clichés, Eustathius makes sure that his message gets across: the city is suffering from thirst, and it may wither; 'this misfortune takes place before our very eyes' (p. 128/14–18). He describes the cold winter in which the wells ceased to yield their much-needed water; 'through my lips the city cries out' (p. 127/23–30).

Eustathius lived at a time when the Byzantine empire cherished universalist ambitions, which involved massive expenditure on diplomatic manoeuvres and military campaigns. In general, Eustathius was happy to accept that the Byzantine emperor was lord of the oecumene (*Opusc.*, p. 343/6–8). As he announced to Manuel I: you rule not over the odd country or two, but over the whole earth, won by your valour and by your labours (*Fontes*, I, p. 125/13–15; cf. p. 92/21–4).

On practical issues, however, Eustathius modifies these conventional declarations. He demands a change in Manuel's foreign policy, a policy which kept the country under such constant and heavy strain. Though his objections are couched in polite words and flattery, he unambiguously conveys his disapproval of Manuel's aggressive adventures. In nature, he argues, the heat of the day is followed by the restful cool of the night; but you, lord, fight on our behalf day and night, without rest or sleep. How long can this continue? Is your strength as firm as stone? Is it adamantine? Those who might like to imitate you are incapable of doing so. Nobody can match you, except perhaps your heir, who inspires us with bright hope (Manuel's heir, Alexius, was at the time still a boy who played with toy spears). We hope that you will pause to rest for a while from your ceaseless chase (*Fontes*, I, pp. 9/20–2, 29–31; 10/3–14; 14/15–16).

It is possible that this speech was delivered in the wake of the calamitous defeat at Myriocephalon in 1176, and that Eustathius' advice was prompted by the mood and memory of recent disaster. Yet his calls for peace, for a halt in expansion, are repeated in many

other works. He rejoices in tranquillity: one day the emperor will bind war with strong chains, and the very word 'war' will be vanquished (*Fontes*, I, p. 32/6–10, 16–18). War has been cast out of our land: other lands nurture her, but we have no place for her bloodthirsty ravages (*Fontes*, I, p. 63/24–6). The most noble endeavour for all people is to achieve peace (*Opusc.*, p. 5/28–9; cf. p. 7).

Again Eustathius' opinions even intrude into his commentaries on Homer, where he produces an unexpected interpretation of the myth of Sisyphus. According to Homer, Sisyphus fettered death, for he was a peaceful ruler, whose subjects knew no danger. Homer's message, continues Eustathius, is that there should be no strife; Homer is thus to be contrasted with Heraclitus, who believed that the universe was actually founded on the principle of strife, and that war and the conflict of opposites are therefore intrinsic to existence (Valk, II, p. 268/3–5; cf. *Comm. ad Hom.* 1133/57). Eustathius speaks of Agamemnon's 'inhuman' cruelty in demanding the murder of all Trojans (Valk, II, p. 242/2–3).

In his speech to Manuel, Eustathius condemns 'ignoble' tactics, such as strewing the enemy's valleys with iron spikes (read 'τριβόλοις' for 'βώλοις'),[102] scattering salt on his farmland, or digging pits to trap his cavalry and infantry, or poisoning his water-supply: 'Where is the glory in baseness? Where is the valour in deceit?' Build strong fortresses, and such unworthy devices are rendered unnecessary (*Fontes*, I, p. 32/27–33).

A further example of Eustathius' opposition to Manuel I is related by Nicetas Choniates (Nic. Chon., pp. 216/26–217/35). It was Manuel's custom regularly to intervene in the affairs of the church, and actively to participate in theological disputes. In 1180, shortly before his death, he proposed a new formula for the denunciation of Moslems. This formula contained no anathema of Mohammed. Eustathius, as archbishop of Thessalonica, publicly objected, defending the old, orthodox denunciation.[103]

There is still a widespread belief, both among scholars and in the broader public, that 'Byzantinism' almost inevitably implied a blind obedience to authority; that subservience and servility were

[102] cf. 'καθὰ τριβόλους', *Fontes*, I, p. 33/10; also the conjectures by Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, p. 43. On other Byzantine attitudes to military tactics, see above, pp. 68–72.

[103] See L. Oeconomus, *La vie religieuse dans l'Empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes* (Paris, 1918, repr. New York, 1972), pp. 58–64; on the date, see Grumel, *Regestes*, III, no. 1153.

bred into the very bones of the Byzantines, and that the extreme conventionality of their literature is one expression of it. But is it not we ourselves who have been blinded? Blinded by the polished façade of rhetorical device? The example of Eustathius shows that the Byzantines were well able to express unconventional personal opinions, and yet at the same time to preserve the traditional veneer of rhetoric.[104] As a consequence, it would be wrong to interpret Eustathius' broad support for Manuel's policies simply as servile acquiescence. He shows support for Manuel's policies because he genuinely approves of them. If he is prepared to criticize where necessary, then we have to assume that his praise is sincere.

Eustathius was not only opposed to certain specific imperial policies and practices. He was not happy with the official view of the status of the emperor himself. Officially the emperor ruled as God's representative, touched by divinity.[105] In the light of this theory some politicians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries came to the conclusion that the emperor was above the law and above the canons of the church (see *PG*, CXXXVIII, col. 93B). However, such a justification of autocracy encountered stiff opposition. According to one ecclesiastical writer of the eleventh century (perhaps Nicetas of Ancyra), the emperor is most certainly not beyond the reach of the law; and furthermore, bishops have the right and duty to instruct the emperor, but he has no mandate to teach them; the emperor has no right to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs.[106]

Little by little, Eustathius undermines the edifice of official dogma. Although he does repeat the conventional formula according to which the emperor is as a god on earth, ruling in harmony with God in heaven (*Fontes*, I, p. 126/20–33), nevertheless he is primarily concerned with the emperor as a man (*Opusc.*, p. 43/42–3); he focuses attention not on the emperor's rights and privileges, but on his duties. Conventional rhetoric spoke in the abstract of the 'benefits' which the emperor conferred upon his people,[107] but

[104] A striking instance of Byzantine opposition in the twelfth century is the case of Nicetas of Serres, who spoke at a council of 1117. His speech contains a denunciation of the proposals of Alexius I, yet it commences with praise of the emperor's piety. See J. Joannou, 'Le sort des évêques hérétiques réconciliés', *Byz.*, XXVIII (1958), p. 8/16–18. The council supported Nicetas, against the emperor.

[105] See O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* (Darmstadt, 1956), pp. 32–3; H. Hunger, *Prooimion* (Vienna, 1964), pp. 49–50.

[106] J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), pp. 214/5–8; 240–2; 248/15–16.

[107] See Hunger, *Prooimion*, pp. 127–9.

Eustathius speaks specifically of the tasks and labours which the emperor takes upon himself (e.g. *Fontes*, I, p. 42/13–14; *Opusc.*, pp. 208/92–209/3). Moreover, he asserts that the best men ('ἀριστεῖς') do not necessarily become emperors, nor are emperors always the best men; nor is the subject necessarily lower than the ruler (Valk, II, p. 723/28–9; *Comm. ad Hom.* 1174/46–8).

Here also it is revealing to compare the utterances of Eustathius with those of Symeon the Theologian. Symeon states that the observance of imperial ceremony has a deeper importance than even the emperor's good deeds,[108] while Eustathius admires above all others the emperor who is active (*Fontes*, I, p. 7/8–9). On this point the views of Eustathius are like those of Theodore Prodromus who, as we have seen, also preferred active emperors.

In his criticism of the traditional cult of the emperor Eustathius does not go quite as far as Nicetas Choniates. Choniates (like Nicetas of Ancyra) openly challenges those who believe that the emperor enjoys unlimited freedom of action; and he attacks the misguided arrogance of some emperors, who apparently entertain the delusion that God allows them to slaughter entire peoples like sheep. Envy, cruelty and degeneracy are occupational hazards for an emperor (Nic. Chon., pp. 110/20–1; 432/61–5; 444/87–90; 548/3–4; 549/9–11).

Choniates 'debases' the image of the emperor more ruthlessly than Eustathius. His emperor-in-action is a man like any other: he rushes with his troops to aid a beleaguered city, leaving behind his bedding and utensils; he walks by night through forests and gulleys, lighting his way with torches; he sleeps on the ground with brushwood for a pillow, under the rain; and he prefers to travel thus, rather than to place a diadem on his head, to don his purple robe and to mount his golden-harnessed steed (Nic. Chon., pp. 197/14–198/31; cf. *Orat. et ep.*, p. 138/5–7). In another episode the emperor breaks out from a siege, battered and wounded; scores of arrows have pierced his shield, and he is too exhausted even to set straight his helmet. And yet, with blatant irony, Choniates observes that this man, whose labours have brought him to the brink of death, is 'protected by God's right hand, that right hand which once shielded the head of David in time of battle' (Nic.

[108] See Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya', p. 16.

Chon., p. 183/60–74). We have moved a very long way from the emperor-on-a-pedestal, the unapproachably divine personage who appears in, for example, the work of Zigabenus, theologian at the court of Alexius I in the early years of the twelfth century (*PG*, CXXXI, col. 29A).

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Choniates' debasement of the imperial image, his opposition to the traditional, mystical view of imperial power, is in any way designed to weaken the state. Quite the contrary: Choniates bemoans the instability of the Byzantine monarchy, the countless coups d'état; he envies the Latins their powerfully effective concept of legitimacy, and he complains that neighbouring peoples see the Rhomaioi as regicides, matricidal vipers, unruly sons (Nic. Chon., p. 642/77–85).

As well as criticizing the imperial cult, Eustathius shows an interest in other types of political structure, both in the present and in the past. Venice, he notes (*PG*, CXXXVI, col. 717D), has preserved three ancient principles of government: monarchic (the Doge), aristocratic (consuls or select advisers), and democratic (the 'tribe'); 'with this triple rope all is indissolubly bound together'. He finds the same three elements – monarchy, aristocracy and democracy – among the ancient Phaeacians (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1575/19–20; 1576/24–5). And he frequently discusses the concept of democracy. A mixture of monarchy and democracy is to be found not only among the Hellenes, but also in the 'empire of the gods' (Valk, I, p. 685/7–10). The Athenians did not exclude monarchy, tyranny or oligarchy, but they preferred democracy (Valk, I, p. 437/13–17). The inhabitants of Attica, says Eustathius in his exegesis of a hymn by John of Damascus, were inclined to choose democracy, though they recognized that monarchy provides the best form of authority: they called Zeus 'emperor' as well as 'saviour', for they believed that no human was worthy to become a *basileus (PG*, CXXXVI, col. 660A; cf. also his discussion of *endemia*, col. 717C).

There may well be some connection between, on the one hand, the caution with which both Eustathius and Nicetas Choniates regarded the traditional image of the divine *basileus*, and, on the other hand, the growth of the Byzantine aristocracy in the twelfth century.

Thus far we have considered Eustathius' attitudes to various groups and levels within the ruling class. Broadly speaking, he

supported that section of the aristocracy which was closest to Manuel I, and he was not particularly keen on the civilian bureaucracy, monks, or the urban professions. However, this survey would remain incomplete if it failed to include Eustathius' attitudes to more menial labour and to the masses who performed it.

Christ blessed them that labour, and medieval writers were not likely to dispute His judgement. But still there is room for considerable variation of nuance. Such variation largely depends on the degree of either rationalism or mysticism with which the subject is approached. The 'rational' approach is to be found in Eustathius' pupil, Michael Choniates. According to Michael, people enjoy the fruits of labour, but not labour itself: 'tongs, oars, gimlets, anvils, shuttles and carts are not loved for their own sakes, but for other reasons' (Mich. Ak. I, p. 109/28–30). For Michael Choniates, there is beauty in gain, but not in the labour which produces it.

Symeon the Theologian takes the mystical view. He is not concerned with labour's material results: labour is a means to achieve spiritual enlightenment.[109]

Eustathius' position is somewhat different. For him, labour is the natural condition of man, satisfying both his bodily and his spiritual needs. We have to work to avoid the hunger which is the reward of idleness, yet this same labour is also pleasing to God. Through his labour a man earns eternal blessings. Animals survive on that which grows of itself, but man is created for work. One would not expect to find (except in the jest of an ancient philosopher) boiled or roast meat which could appear at table without somebody's labour, or rich sauces flowing in rivers to the thirsty, or cooked birds flying onto the plates of feasters, or fish cooking and turning on the fire by themselves, of their own volition (*Opusc.*, pp. 7/41–3, 79–82; 8/19–29; 9/68–72; 10/60–2).

Praise of constructive work leads to condemnation of monastic idleness: there is no spiritual gain in the inactivity of monks; monks ought not to behave like drones; abbots ought not to spend their time idle in their cells (*Opusc.*, pp. 251/95–6; 254/74–5; 258/31–4).

St Philotheus happily worked with his own hands and considered that 'noble toil' was a worthy pursuit for a man (*Opusc.*, p.

[109] See Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya', p. 22; the same topic is to be found in Greek *vitae*, e.g. *AASS*, Sept., III, p. 853B.

149/86–90). Old Laertes, like many other Homeric heroes, enjoyed manual work (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1961/3). Homer calls threshing-floors 'holy' in part because they belonged to Demeter, but chiefly because of their value to mankind (Valk, II, p. 134/78).

One can distinguish two separate contexts in which Eustathius praises work: with regard to himself and people like himself, and with regard to the labour of humbler folk.

In the more personal sphere, Eustathius maintains a special interest in agriculture and horticulture.[110] In his letters he writes proudly of his garden in Constantinople, with its 'Persian' apples (i.e. peaches) and golden saffron; one might find similar fruits in the countryside, but nobody in the capital has anything remotely comparable (*Opusc.*, p. 308/55–61). A tree in his garden is like a mountain of fruit (p. 346/50–1). And he waxes positively lyrical about his apples: they are the produce of his earth, domestic fruit, not imported, not ruined by the touch of many hands; virgin maidens, but yesterday parted from their mother-tree. He values his apples not only for their taste and beauty, but also because they are not bought, because they are produced at home, not vagrants, not goods from the market, not commonly accessible (p. 335/42–8).[111]

Eustathius admits that he lacks the qualities of a soldier (although they are qualities which he much admires): 'pedestrians are fated not to fly'. Nor has he any inclination for trade, sailing, or herding flocks (*E*, fol. 37v). But in this 'blacklist' of professions, agricultural pursuits are conspicuously absent. On the topic of agriculture there is no discrepancy between his general estimation and his personal inclinations: agriculture is the most useful kind of human activity (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1160/60); blessed is the wealth produced from sowing wheat and barley (Valk, I, p. 633/14–15). From boyhood Eustathius was educated in the ways of agricultural life (*Opusc.*, p. 111/56–9), and he seems to have become an enthusiastic and successful farmer. His land produced a good yield: on one plot (if Eustathius is to be believed) he harvested fifty-nine *medimni* after sowing only three; and he stresses that this plot had not lain fallow, but had been regularly ploughed and sown (*Opusc.*, p. 155/69–73).

[110] Noted by Kyriakides in *Esp.*, pp. XLII–XLV.

[111] cf. Gregory Antiochus, who also assumed that goods sold at the market must be of inferior quality: see below, p. 220.

It is therefore not surprising that Eustathius' works are strewn with agricultural images and comparisons. He writes of clearing thickets, of ploughing and sowing, of irrigation and canals (*Opusc.*, pp. 11/84–7; 24/38–42; 76/53–4; 107/43–5; 340/28–9; 347/80–3). He is aware that the region of Enos is rich in beans (*E*, fol. 40v). He describes how in winter grains sleep in the bosom of the earth, how in spring the corn ripens, until the time for summer harvest comes (*Opusc.*, pp. 154/15–155/23). Drawn swords are like ears of corn (*Esp.*, p. 106/23–4). He describes the scene when corn is ground, and when the sheaves are threshed (*Fontes*, I, p. 28/19–20; *Opusc.*, p. 43/94–5). He mentions the mill horses (*Esp.*, p. 32/13).

Viniculture is a similarly favoured subject. Eustathius writes of the preparation of the vineyard, of the various different kinds of grape, of the custodians who live in huts, guarding the vineyards and orchards; he describes bunches of grapes slung on beams under the ceiling for storage; he writes of how the wine is preserved, of how the grapes are pressed, and of the preparation of raisins (*Opusc.*, pp. 3/91–3; 242/6–8; 309/2–6, 26–9; 313/50–3, 78–83; *Esp.*, pp. 78/34–5; 148/24). The tents in Andronicus' camp remind Eustathius of cucumber beds (*Esp.*, p. 32/11–12). He speaks of the labour of the fisherman and of the birdcatcher (*Fontes*, I, p. 4/14–15; *Opusc.*, p. 163/10–11). Finally, he is acutely aware of the many hazards which beset the farmer: fire, winds, hail (*Opusc.*, p. 155/25, 42, 49).[112]

As regards the labour of others (the second 'context' of Eustathius' remarks on labour), one is struck by Eustathius' persistent attention to slavery. He discusses (inconsistently) the origins of the term 'ἀνδράποδον' (from 'ἀνδρῶν πόδες', 'feet of men'): in his commentary on the Iliad he explains that slaves are the feet of their lords (who are their heads) (Valk, II, p. 504/11–12); but in a speech he decides that slaves are thus designated because they are fugitives (*Opusc.*, p. 99/40–2). He considers Homeric terminology for female slaves: never 'θεράπαιναι', but normally 'δμῶες', or 'δμωίδες', and occasionally rare words like 'τριπέδων' or 'σηκίδες' (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1479/63; 1625/24; Valk, II, p. 623/4). He mentions people who steal slaves ('ἀνδραποδισταί') and sell

[112] For a compilation of Eustathius' references to agriculture, viniculture, apiculture and cattle-farming, see Koukoules, *Thessalonikēs Eustathiou ta laographika*, I, pp. 234–88; on hunting, fishing and poultry-farming, *ibid.*, pp. 316–45.

them at reduced prices (*Opusc.*, p. 245/55–9). Slaves and hired labourers enable their masters to live free of worry (*Opusc.*, p. 128/45–8). He relates instances of cruelty to slaves: one man, for example, clapped his fugitive slave into an iron collar, then suspended him above the ground, and finally bound him in sackcloth (*Opusc.*, p. 156/64–8).[113] Eustathius does not approve of such punishment. He calls for the humane treatment of all who share one's house, be they relatives, servants or slaves (*Opusc.*, p. 22/51–61). One should not lay a hand on one's slave (*E*, fol. 59v). Who is so aloof that he cannot hear the slave's appeal for mercy? (*Opusc.*, p. 134/33–7). Mercy, however, is a quality which Eustathius interprets in his own way: the prudent master does not himself punish the slave, but instructs other slaves to knock sense into their fellow (*Fontes*, I, 119/21–3). 'Divide and rule' is an old and effective principle, whether in politics or in the home.

Eustathius shows an interest in the distinctions between slaves and other dependent groups. He notes a number of intermediate categories, such as the 'ἄτμενος' and the 'λάτρις' (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1750/62–3). On several occasions he comments on the gap between slaves and servants, 'θεράποντες' and 'ὑπηρέται': though in Crete 'θεράπων' designates an armed slave, Homer never confuses slaves with servants (1176/28–9; cf. 1397/56–8). The medieval word 'δουλευτής' is distinguished from the older terms 'δοῦλος' and 'ἀνδράποδον' (*Opusc.*, pp. 230/87; 322/76; cf. 13/5).

Eustathius notes various forms of relationship between the slave and his master. Some owners allot their slaves no *peculium* whatever, and take for themselves all that their slaves acquire (*Opusc.*, p. 129/39–42). Other slaves do keep their *peculium* (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1767/22; 'πεκουλιάζομαι' is not in the dictionary of Liddell and Scott). Slaves are well able to be friendly and trustworthy (1885/32; cf. 1754/56). Holy men, according to Eustathius and according to common Christian tradition, are the faithful slaves and true servants of God (*Opusc.*, p. 146/35).

Such was Eustathius' interest in slavery. But what was his opinion of it? He was keenly aware of forms and of fine distinctions,

[113] On this see I. Sakŭzov, 'Edna novela na Aleksea Komnin za robi – bŭlgari', *Sbornik V. Zlatarski* (Sofia, 1925), p. 375, n. 87; on Byzantine slavery, see also A. Hadjinicolau-Marava, *Recherches sur la vie des esclaves dans le monde byzantin* (Athens, 1950), pp. 53–6; 67–9; 79–80; 83.

but what was his attitude to the institution itself? To answer these questions we turn to one of the most remarkable of Eustathius' extant works: his own testament.[114]

Eustathius starts with an historical introduction. Man, he says, was created independent, able to satisfy his needs through his own efforts. Only with the emergence of luxury and idleness did it become necessary to use the labour of others. First, people hired others to support their life of inactivity. And in time they invented slavery, so that they might be served in perpetuity ('τὸ θητεύειν αἰώνιον'). 'Slavery is long and unrewarded service' (*Opusc.*, p. 334/27–37).

Eustathius' conclusion is dramatic: slavery is an evil, contrary to nature, created by man's selfishness. It is therefore right, and pleasing to God, to return to the natural condition of freedom, and to redeem the sin of avarice with the virtue of brotherhood. We cannot be forgiven if we cast down our brothers from the heights of freedom into the abyss of slavery. 'Man is by nature free' (*Opusc.*, p. 334/37–47, 52).

True to his principles, Eustathius decrees that after his death his slaves shall have no master. Although they shall continue in their normal duties during his lifetime – even principles have their practical limits! – in the future they shall become free Rhomaioi, and neither Eustathius' kin, nor anybody else, shall lay claim to them (*Opusc.*, p. 334/48–70).

Eustathius' action is by no means unique, or even exceptional. Another act of manumission has been published by G. Ferrari: it is somewhat briefer than Eustathius' testament, but it contains the same basic elements, even including the preamble in which slavery is declared unnatural.[115] As far back as 1095 Alexius I had issued a novel allowing slaves to have families. In the twelfth century many slave-owners refused to abide by the provisions of Alexius' novel, and refused to ratify in church the marriages of their slaves, fearing that marriage and families would lead to manumission (*PG*, CXIX, col. 997CD). Nicetas of Maronea, archbishop of Thessalonica

[114] See Sakŭzov, 'Edna novela', p. 383 (but note that Sakŭzov's reference to *PG*, CXXXVI, col. 1920, is erroneous).

[115] G. Ferrari, 'Formulari notarili inediti dell' età bizantina', *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, XXXIII (1913), p. 63. This document (which Ferrari dates to the thirteenth century) is curious in that it mentions the ethnic origins of slaves: in first place come Russians. For a further document see Sathas, *MB*, VI, p. 618.

(and, incidentally, a well-known Latinophile)[116] produced impassioned arguments in support of Alexius' novel (*PG*, CXIX, col. 1000CD). And the institution of slavery came under heavy attack during the reign of Manuel I.[117] Eustathius himself records that Manuel used public money to buy the freedom of slaves, thus to enlist them in the army (*Opusc.*, p. 200/52–5).

On the issue of slavery, as on most other major social issues, Eustathius turns out to be in sympathy with the policies of Manuel I, and with the opinions and interests of one section of the burgeoning twelfth-century aristocracy. Behind the timeless rhetoric we find a man deeply concerned with the problems of contemporary society.

3. ETHICAL PRINCIPLES

Ethical principles are not easy to relate to social views. Stated ethical norms tend to appear conservative. 'Thou shalt not kill', or 'thou shalt not steal' are moral imperatives which may be equally applicable in very different sets of social conditions; they are moral imperatives which may be equally accepted and advocated by widely differing sections of society. Moreover, ethical principles are highly adaptable: one and the same formulation may be used to cover different actual demands on behaviour. For example, the injunction 'thou shalt not steal' may be pronounced either in defence of private property, or against it ('property is theft').

It is dangerously simple to interpret arbitrarily the social implications of ethical statements. Whose social interests are served by the injunction to 'do good'? All sections of society might be happy to acquiesce, *in principle*. In order to avoid, as far as possible, the perils of arbitrary interpretation, we must abide by two rules: in the first place, one may not draw social conclusions from individual and isolated statements, but only if one can observe a consistent pattern of statements, a system of views; and secondly, this system of views should be related not to a set of abstract norms, but to the comparable or equivalent views of contemporaries. In other words, Eustathius' moral generalities only acquire specific meaning for the

[116] Beck, *Kirche*, p. 621.

[117] Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 612, with a reference to Cinnamus. See also below, p. 206, n. 23.

historian if they satisfy two conditions: if they present a coherent system, and if this system is identifiably different from, or similar to, that found in the works of other twelfth-century Byzantine writers.

Eustathius' conventional moral utterances have led some scholars to assert that he was a good and respected mentor to his flock.[118] The argument is suspect, if only because Eustathius managed to annoy so many sections of Thessalonican society to such an extent that he was eventually forced to flee. But the fallacy lies not primarily in the contradiction between abstract argument and historical event. The argument is fallacious in itself, since the concept of good (or evil) is relative, changing in time and place, according to circumstance, even though the words and the formulae may remain the same. It makes little sense for us to call Eustathius either a good or a bad pastor. Doubtless some thought him good, and others thought him bad, and our own extraneous moral criteria do not clarify the issue. The task of the historian is to discover Eustathius' *own* ideas of good and evil, and to see how his ideas are translated into social action.

In principle Eustathius believes that good and evil are clearly distinguishable from one another: 'there is nothing in common between sun and shadow, between truth and hypocrisy' (*Opusc.*, p. 73/74–5). Thus moral criteria ought to be simple: Eustathius condemns the variety and multitude of pagan rituals, and he contrasts their unnecessary complexity with Christian simplicity; the perfect, static cube is better than the unstable sphere (*Opusc.*, p. 115/52–8).

In practice, however, the simple, stable ideal is more elusive. Eustathius confesses that the real, living person is not susceptible to neat and easy definitions ('ἀδιατύπωτος', 'ἀχαρακτήριστος'). The variety of life is caused by the incessant changeability of people: a cruel tyrant can become human and kind, and mercy can change into malice (*Opusc.*, p. 216/82–96). Man must try to overcome such vacillation, to find stability, and thus to achieve perfection (p. 217/31–4). But what, for Eustathius, is perfection? What is his positive ideal?

The highest beauty is spiritual: not external manifestations of piety, not the iron chains of the ascetic, but virtue of the soul

[118] See e.g. A. Govorov, 'Evstafiy, mitropolit Solunskiy, pisatel' 12–go veka', *Pravoslavnyy sobesednik*, 1883, Jan., p. 36; Oct., pp. 140–1; *Esp.*, pp. XLVIII, LII–LIII.

(*Opusc.*, p. 187/83–5). At the same time, the flesh is not altogether irrelevant: there is virtue in the harmonious unity of body and soul. Ducas, brother of Nicephorus Comnenus, combined internal and external beauty, beauty of soul and of body (*Opusc.*, p. 318/65–8; also *E*, fol. 175v, of the patriarch Michael III).

Yet physical beauty cannot be stable. It changes, and is transient. Such is the beauty of Manuel I. Eustathius begins his description with the formulae of eulogy: Manuel's appearance was majestic, his eyes exuded both gentleness and forcefulness, his face was placid, his features were symmetrical, and his complexion was even and healthy. So far the portrait is iconic, canonical, not real (cf. an identical portrait in *Fontes*, I, p. 51/10–14). Eustathius continues: Manuel would remain thus until a hidden sea of passions started to rage within him; then he would cast off his former visage, and acquire a mixture of new features. These, too, were entirely noble: whoever chanced to see Manuel's wrath would quake and wish death upon himself (for who can fail to tremble when a lion frowns?). However, Manuel's wrath was only external; it did not affect or reflect the charity in his soul (*Opusc.*, p. 202/1–40).

In order to appreciate the significance of this portrait of Manuel, we may compare it to another contemporary description of imperial anger, by the orator Constantine Stilbes. The individuality of Eustathius is highlighted by the rigid traditionalism of Stilbes. According to Stilbes, anger is part of human nature, but the emperor suppresses his own human emotions, calms the lion in his breast, locks it in the depths of his heart, and tames it.[119] For Stilbes, the spirit of Christian reconciliation takes precedence over observed reality; for Eustathius, reality is paramount, and the traditional expressions have to be moulded to fit it.

Once Eustathius has admitted the virtue of physical beauty, he has also to admit the possibility of perfection even in this mutable and unstable world. Manuel is admirable and majestic both in repose and in anger. Where now is the true, the only, the stable perfection?

True to Christian tradition, Eustathius praises love as the highest

[119] R. Browning, 'An Anonymous *basilikos logos* Addressed to Alexios I Comnenus', *Byz.*, XXVIII (1958), p. 37/38–42. On the date and authorship see J. Darrouzès, 'Notes de littérature et de critique, II: Constantin Stilbès et Cyrille métropolite de Cyzique', *REB*, XVIII (1960), repr. in *idem, Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), pt. IV, pp. 184–7.

mode of life: laws are established, states are founded, alliances are joined, and all that brings order is done for the sake of love (*Opusc.*, p. 158/55–7). For the sake of love the Lord came down among us and taught us to unite, like the members and parts of the godhead (p. 62/69–70). Love leads to peace, Eustathius tells the people of Thessalonica, and peace brings flourishing industry and scholarship, strength in marriage, prosperous trade and expanding markets (p. 63/10–11).

But reality , as we recall, is variegated, and Eustathius warns that not all love is necessarily good: the libertine loves debauchery, the murderer loves blood, and the thief loves his spoils. Such love is false, and such base lusts should not be dignified with its noble name (*Opusc.*, p. 63/46–50, 63). However, even 'real' love has two aspects: love may be enclosed and introspective ('ἐγκάθετος', 'αὐτοπαθής'), or it may be directed outwards ('μεταβατική', 'ἀλλοπαθής'). Introspective love leads to piety and fasting, retreat from the world and reliance on God. Eustathius does not find these monastic virtues particularly attractive. He is more impressed by the man who does not hide from others, does not hide from the sun, but who carries his light into the darkness of life. It is not enough merely to avoid evil; one must also do good. True virtue requires active involvement in life (*Opusc.*, pp. 69/93–70/18; 73/93–5).[120]

Eustathius criticizes those who try at all costs to flee from evil in the hope of saving themselves, as if escape from the world were sufficient to make man perfect. He mocks anchorites who closet themselves away in their 'spiritual recesses', in caves and niches and on mountains. He compares their places of isolation with seams of gold: full of precious metal which stays hidden, which has as yet no use as human coinage (*Opusc.*, p. 77/43–6, 72–7).

Since love must be active, must operate in the world, over-rigorous religiosity is to be discouraged: do not demand too much from yourselves; if you lack the strength to fast, then eat in moderation; do not neglect to wash, for there is no ban on cleanliness; if you find it hard to endure long services, pray as and when you are able (*Opusc.*, pp. 11/82–3, 91–5; 12/9–15).

Morality is not to be confused with the mere observance of ritual. Of course there is great virtue in tears and in bended knees, in the

[120] Eustathius seems to argue directly against the principle of personal salvation as expounded by Symeon the Theologian: see Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya', p. 21.

performance of physically arduous rituals, but is there not equal virtue in a life of humility? 'Let humility ('τὸ ταπεινοῦσθαι') be your way of bending your knees' (*Opusc.*, p. 11/41–4, 61–8).

Certainly Eustathius concurs with the conventional view of fasting: it lightens us, lifts us from the earth, makes us more like the birds of the air, praising the Lord. Yet, he maintains, fasting is no more than the spice on top of other virtues, an adornment to their beauty ('ἀρετῶν ἄρτυμα καὶ κόσμου τοῦ ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτῇ ἐπικόσμημα') (*E*, fol. 39). And from here he launches a passionate tirade against those who think that fasting is an adequate substitute for inadequate virtues. 'Let us not treat fasting as an object of barter ('ἐμπορία'); gastronomic abstinence should not bring material sustenance ('μηδὲ ἡ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποχὴ χρημάτων ἐποχή').' God's commandment ('ἐντολή') is not a commercial deal ('ἐμπολή'); if it were so, then fasting would benefit the miser, who would gain spiritual credit for his meanness. Fasting cannot excuse a failure to help others: if, under the guise of pious fasting, we cast out our brother and leave him to die of hunger, then this fasting ('νηστεία') becomes robbery ('ληστεία') (fol. 39v). 'Better to fill one's mouth with meat (that is, to be merely carnivorous) than with evil (which is murderous, cannibalistic)' (fol. 40v).

A man does not become a monk simply by donning the habit. Eustathius derides the 'Melanchlaeni who live in monasteries' (Melanchleani – a people near the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and its derivation from 'black cloaks'). If black garments make such a difference, then why is white worn at services? Precious stones are of many colours; clouds in the sky can change their hue. The habit is mere wrapping. The essence is that which is wrapped within it (*Opusc.*, pp. 239/6–7, 93–6; 240/26–50, 94–6).

These moral sentiments reinforce Eustathius' social views: his sceptical attitude to the virtues of monastic life echoes his social criticism of monks. His 'active' interpretation of the concept of love complements his high estimation of labour.

Like love, the seemingly simple notion of 'hate' is in real life complex and potentially ambiguous. On the one hand there is the obvious vice of hatred, which operates against the canons of the church. But on the other hand, Eustathius stresses, there is the hatred which is 'consistent with the psalms': hatred for one's enemies (*Opusc.*, p. 87/70–81). Passivity cannot be unlimited. Have

we not seen how those who refused to resist perished ingloriously? (p. 121/7–9, 34–6). Eustathius openly rejoices at casualties in the enemy camp (*Esp.*, pp. 148/36; 150/7–8). Gregory Antiochus quite correctly states that Eustathius taught not only to love those by whom one is loved, but also to hate those by whom one is hated (*E*, fol. 401v).

Friendship, like love, might be thought to be a fairly universal virtue. Such, at first sight, is Eustathius' opinion as well: his praise of friendship seems to reflect eternal ideals. But as in the case of love, so with friendship, closer inspection reveals that Eustathius has specific social requirements. Moral values are not abstract: they imply specific types of social action.

Although praise of friendship was commonplace among the ancients, it is not a standard *topos* in Byzantine literature. In the eleventh century Cecaumenus viewed friendship with caution, even with suspicion. He recommends that human relationships should be based on fear. Fear is useful; let people fear you. Be constantly alert and on your guard. Stop any conversation as soon as it touches the emperor or the empress; many have perished on account of such idle chatter; your interlocutor, or a casual passer-by, may inform on you. Avoid dinner-party gossip: better that you should have a reputation as an anti-social miser than that you should be reported to the emperor as the participant in a plot (Cec., pp. 122/24–30; 124/14–20; 240/15–17; 304/22–306/6).

Affected by the nervous atmosphere of general suspicion, Cecaumenus does not believe in friendship. Many have died because of their friends; they have lost not only their property, but their lives as well. Do not allow a friend to live in your house. Do not act as guarantor for a friend. Remember that in misfortune you will find no friends. Beware your friends more than your enemy (Cec., pp. 202–4; 218/17–27; 242/20–2; 306/11–12).

Cecaumenus is not unique. Others share his scepticism about the value of friendship. Symeon the Theologian warns against friends and relations, for the demons who seduce the faithful assume the form of well-intentioned sympathizers. You ruin your own house if you help a friend to build his. Like Cecaumenus, Symeon counsels withdrawal into one's own shell. The only difference is that Symeon gives his individualist advice a theological justifica-

tion: the highest goal is inner purification, and mystical contemplation of the godhead.[121]

John Camaterus, a contemporary of Eustathius, wrote a verse 'Introduction to Astronomy', in which he discusses the influence of the constellations on earthly life: which signs presage an unsuccessful campaign, civil war, poor crops, or the drying up of rivers. Amongst all this there are a number of comments on the perils of friendship. Sometimes the warnings are in the form of vague generalizations: 'danger threatens from relatives and friends'.[122] Sometimes they are more specific: friends deprive you of your property; you waste all your possessions on friends.[123] Those who have many friends deserve criticism, or perhaps pity; they are miserable indeed, like people who have no family and therefore consort with prostitutes, or like people who need medical attention after a fall.[124]

Yet several eleventh- and twelfth-century authors think otherwise, and write in praise of friendship.[125] Among them is Eustathius.

Eustathius' remarks sound almost like a direct polemical response to Cecaumenus and Camaterus. Although in his path through life he has often stumbled across false friends, has found thorns instead of roses, nevertheless, he assures us, he has not lost hope of finding perfect friendship; he believes in the possibility of true and sincere friendship, not founded on the desire for gain; he believes that friends can keep faith with one another, and not allow a word of slander to escape their lips (*Opusc.*, pp. 124/47–52, 74–9; 125/1). In his commentaries on Homer he develops the same theme: friends hold all in common; one should give to one's friends the fairest and the costliest (Valk, III, p. 465/29; *Comm. ad Hom.* 1511/34). Here he introduces a curious nuance: Homer was at fault for praising friends excessively and exclusively, while ignoring the fact that close relatives – parents, wives and children – are also true friends (Valk, II, p. 95/5–7).

[121] Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya', pp. 19–20.

[122] John Camaterus, *Eisagōgē astronomias*, ed. L. Weigl (Berlin, Leipzig, 1908), l. 1356.

[123] *Ibid.*, ll. 1651, 1671–2.

[124] *Ibid.*, ll. 811–13, 960–1.

[125] John Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), p. 107/21–2; or Theodore Prodromus: L. Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Étienne Skylitzès, métropolitain de Trébizonde', *IRAIK*, VIII (1902), 1–2, p. 6/2–20. On the concept of friendship in the eleventh century see F. Tinnefeld, '"Freundschaft" in den Briefen des Michael Psellos', *JÖB*, XXII (1973), pp. 151–68; Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 117–29.

Eustathius' starting-point is the same as that of Cecaumenus: in life one often encounters the faithlessness of false friends. But Cecaumenus' response is pessimistic, whereas Eustathius insists that we must not cease to trust people. Cecaumenus counsels hypocrisy as prudent behaviour; for Eustathius the most detestable of all sinners is the hypocrite. The hypocrite shows nothing but deceit: in his respectful bows, his warm embraces, his hair-shirt, his devoutly bended knee, his gait, all is false (*Opusc.*, p. 73/61–6). Hypocrites will go to any lengths in order to win the favour of others: if you are bitten by a flea, the hypocrite waxes indignant at the insect's foul perfidy; he is elaborately upset at the sight of a speck of dust on your clothing; he stands in an attitude of fawning attention, as if you were the emperor; the moment you speak, he proclaims you to be Demosthenes, or even Hermes; if you run, you are swift as the Boreades, or as Perseus in winged sandals (*Opusc.*, p. 90/62–96). The hypocrite does not quite deify the object of his flattery, but he does perpetually ply him with epithets such as 'divine' and 'godlike'; the hypocrite follows you to the bathhouse, fans the flies off you as you sleep; he even steps in your spittle, declaring what a pleasure and privilege it is to do so (p. 91/4–13). Every action of the hypocrite is false: sometimes he walks barefoot, dirty, unkempt and unshaven, sometimes he sports a fussily elegant coiffure (p. 95/73–90). Most of the time the hypocrite is silent; but if he speaks, then his voice is soft as the sound of a bat, as if he fears that the release of words will reveal his soul (p. 95/17–22).

Moreover, Eustathius does not share the common view that all criticism is beneficial. According to this view, he claims, the soul profits as much from hostile speeches as from friendly ones, just as bitter wormwood cures the body better than sweet honey; even an enemy's unjust criticism is salutory, both because of the virtue of the suffering which it causes, and because it can help to guide one's future actions (*Opusc.*, pp. 121/86–90; 122/4–10).

This, in Eustathius' opinion, is fallacious reasoning, mere sophistry (although the argument may well have had some official support from the establishment). Hostile slander should never be reckoned a blessing; an enemy should not be represented as a friend, nor should one call a punch a kiss; abuse is not praise, nor should spittle be called myrrh; to pull the hair is not the same as to comb it. I cannot consider my reviler to be my teacher, for his purpose is not

to instruct me, but to ruin me (*Opusc.*, p. 122/18–20, 43–5, 61–3, 80–1).

Thus Eustathius attacks the system of in-fighting and mutual slander, which was hypocritically declared beneficial on the grounds that criticism helped people to perfect themselves.

Eustathius devotes a complete speech to the moral dilemma of a man whose friends are at loggerheads with one another. Of course such a man's first duty is to work for a reconciliation. But he cannot remain permanently impartial simply in order to protect himself: if he does so, he betrays the fortress of friendship ('καταπροδιδόντα καὶ κατασείοντα τὴν τῆς φιλίας ἀκρόπολιν'), he is a shoe that fits either foot, a double-dealer, a fire that thrives on conflict, a medium of hatred, a double-edged sword, the mere mask of friendship: call him what you will, but he is most certainly not a friend (*E*, fol. 47). If you are a true friend, then you hate the man whom your friend hates, just as Patroclus, friend of Achilles, hated the house of Atreus. 'The man who finds himself caught between two warring parties must hate one if he is a true friend of the other' (fol. 46v).

Eustathius clearly has no patience with even-handedness, double-dealing in the guise of friendship. Admittedly at the end of his speech he seems almost alarmed by the virulence of his 'pagan' hatred for enemies, and he rounds off with a paean to the highest form of friendship: the love of our common father, the source of all blessings (fol. 47v). But this cannot alter the main point of his argument. He believes in friendship, and hates hypocrisy and the show of neutrality.

Along with hypocrites, Eustathius attacks slanderers and informers ('sycophants'): he who is slandered receives his compensation from God, regardless of whether or not he manages to avoid the traps laid for him. The rewards of the slanderer, on the other hand, are unenviable: either he is gnawed by his conscience, or else he is frustrated and disheartened by the failure of his plans (*Opusc.*, p. 83/28–40). And Eustathius also lashes out at flatterers: when they see a particularly foul-smelling abscess, they declare ecstatically that it has the aroma of nard; they praise a coward as a hero, set him on horseback and, when he falls off, swear that the saddle was at fault. The flatterer depicts a robber as a benefactor, a lawbreaker as a model of justice; he who seizes another's land is

described as having donated it to him; thus a usurer is termed a generous giver, and vituperation is described as lavish praise (*Opusc.*, pp. 83/93–6; 84/6–12).

Generalizing his particular objections to hypocrites, flatterers and slanderers, Eustathius insists that deeds should match words, and *vice versa*; that people should not say one thing and then do another; rather than simply talk about doing good, one should go ahead and do it (*Opusc.*, pp. 73/48–9; 74/44–6). Theory must correspond to practice; theory is incomplete unless complemented by practice, just as practice is blind without theory ('πρᾶξις (for 'πρᾶξιν') δὲ μὴ θεωροῦσα τετύφλωται'); theory and practice form a blessed partnership, truly united in paradise (*Opusc.*, pp. 241/91–2; 249/38–40; *Fontes*, I, p. 53/2–3).

Eustathius does not entirely ignore the many other human vices, such as pride and envy, cruelty and avarice, inadequate piety, or disrespect for documents (*Esp.*, pp. 154/14–156/25). But he is disproportionately preoccupied with hypocrisy, slander and flattery.

Again his ethical demands complement his social opinions. He himself frequently linked hypocrisy with monasticism (e.g. *Opusc.*, pp. 95/86; 187/24–7; 232/9–12). But his criticism of falsehood is aimed at a wider target. The whole atmosphere of Byzantine court life was heavy with flattery, lies, hypocrisy and slander. Eustathius attacked the bureaucracy as a social group; here he attacks its standards of behaviour. Nor is his praise of friendship merely abstract and conventional: it is the counterpart of his denunciation of lies and hypocrisy, his denunciation of all that destroys true friendship and turns man's highest aspirations into vacuous sophistry. For Cecaumenus, friendship was a particularly devious form of deception, and caution and hypocrisy were the sensible norms of behaviour for a prudent man. Eustathius rejects the morality of those who think like Cecaumenus, the morality which infested and sustained the whole labyrinthine structure of the Byzantine bureaucracy.

No less commonplace in form, and no less specific in content, is Eustathius' advocacy of tolerance: 'wild flowers and cultivated flowers alike yield honey to the righteous; everything in the universe is potentially beneficial to our virtue' (*Opusc.*, p. 79/45–8). In calling on people to be tolerant, Eustathius reproaches those who

are quick to accuse: we have barely met a man, and already we declare him a slanderer; he omits to smile, or to start a conversation, and we conclude that he harbours designs against us. We imagine enemies all around us: a man praises somebody else and fails to mention you, so you assume that he dislikes you; you rebuke somebody, and he dares to object, so you label him foul-mouthed and quarrelsome (*Opusc.*, p. 68/45–53). Alas, we fail to imitate the sublime and merciful judge, for our own judgements are harsh and our sentences are cruel (*Opusc.*, p. 67/61–4).

Tolerance means that each man has a right to his own opinion, a right to doubt, to waver, to think. Listen to me attentively, says Eustathius to the people of Thessalonica, but if you do not like my words, then doubt them, test them on the scales of refutation and decision (*Opusc.*, p. 80/62–4). The moral principle of toleration follows naturally from Eustathius' social demand that one should exercise 'παρρησία', the free expression of views.

The evidence suggests that Eustathius' stated ethical principles were formed as responses to the hypocritical morality of the Byzantine court, where, as Eustathius saw it, self-interest disguised itself in words of lofty concern for the 'common good', where men spoke of universal forgiveness even as they sent their victims to execution. Eustathius witnessed the attempts by Andronicus I to repair the edifice of the Byzantine monarchy, which had become damaged by the growth of quasi-feudal institutions and ideas. He had lived through Andronicus' reign of terror, of terror cloaked in democratic demagoguery. He observed the triumph of slander, treachery, hypocrisy and pervasive suspicion. These experiences deeply affected the moral views of the ageing archbishop of Thessalonica, who had spent his best years praising the noble and knightly virtues of Manuel I.

And precisely because Eustathius' moral utterances are loaded with specific meaning and application, precisely because they are aimed at real targets in contemporary Byzantine society – because of this they carry a force and a sense of conviction which takes them beyond their limited context, and which sets them apart from the smug sentiment of merely conventional cliché. Generated by real life, the potentially limp generalizations are charged with an emotive and moral power sufficient still to shock over the centuries.

4. EUSTATHIUS' VIEW OF HISTORY

The present is clarified in the light of the past, of history. Present vices contrast starkly with past virtues. Eustathius finds an illuminating comparison between present nonentities and the great men of a bygone age (*Opusc.*, p. 21/22–9). One should point out that such comparisons were not universally accepted in twelfth-century Byzantium. Theodore Prodromus, for example, echoes hagiographic convention when he argues the exact opposite, that virtue is *not* confined to the past.[126]

Eustathius broadly adhered to the Christian tradition according to which the history of mankind is split into three parts, distinguished by different types of law: the period of natural law (normally conceived as divine rule proclaimed by the Logos); the period of Mosaic law; and the period of Grace and the New Testament.[127] But within this tradition there is scope for variation of emphasis. Eusebius of Caesarea, the father of Christian historiography, stressed the progression of religions: from atheism, through astral worship, to polytheism, and eventually to monotheism.[128] Eustathius, by contrast, stresses the human and secular phases of the development of mankind.

According to Eustathius, man's primitive existence was in the kingdom of evil, where there were no rules, no sensible government, no morality (*Opusc.*, p. 13/29–32). Then some people were lit by the spark of God's love for humanity: these select people first took counsel among themselves, and then summoned a populous gathering to advance the common cause (p. 14/37–9, 74–7). As a result, evil was blunted, injustice was curbed, and man in shame turned to heaven (p. 15/31–50). All were overcome with joy; dancing and singing were everywhere; those who had previously lived in isolation now joined the community (p. 15/72–4, 82–3).

Moral improvement was followed by material progress. Having

[126] V. G. Vasil'yevsky, 'Nikolaya episkopa Mefonskogo i Feodora Prodroma pisateley XII stoletiya zhitiya Meletiya Novogo', *PPS*, VI, 2 (1886), p. 40/1–5; see also *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii*, ed. G. Cozza-Luzi (Rome, 1893), p. 5/1–7.

[127] See W. Kamlah, *Christentum und Geschichtlichkeit* (Stuttgart, Cologne, 1951), pp. 111–15; A. Dempf, *Geistesgeschichte der altchristlichen Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 36.

[128] See J. Sirinelli, *Les vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période prénicéenne* (Dakar, 1961), pp. 139–207; A. Dempf, *Eusebios als Historiker* (Munich, 1964).

recognized what was good, people quit the caves in which they had lived like animals, and they started to build houses; they learned to farm the fields and to sail the seas (p. 20/11–13, 24–5, 61). The land began to sprout forth its fruits in abundance (p. 16/23–7). With the development of practical skills came political organization ('πολιτικὸν σχῆμα'), neither of which had hitherto existed (p. 20/92–6). The first teachers (those who had first seen the light) were universally respected, praised, and accepted as leaders (p. 16/44–8).

Sexual licence gave way to marriage, and each man now lived with just one woman. Each home belonged to just one family: husband, wife, children and relatives. Man had become truly human (p. 16/28–43).

This happy time saw the appearance of writing, so that it became possible to write down customary norms and thus to create what came to be known as law (pp. 16/87–8; 17/5–7).

In Eustathius' view of early human history God plays a remarkably minor role. He provides the moral standards, but he is not the prime mover. Men progress from savagery to civilization on their own initiative, guided by wise leaders. Moreover, historical change is for the better. Man does not fall from the Garden of Eden into pagan sin, to be redeemed by the Son of God; instead, he rises from lawlessness to lawful order and humility, maintained either by the recognition of the earth's blessings or by fear of punishment (*Opusc.*, p. 17/35–56).

Time moves on. As men increased in number, so the moral foundations of society were strengthened, and God sent a new and better law, the law of Moses, which expressed great and divine truths, but which many were unable to comprehend (*Opusc.*, pp. 17/67–18/15). Here, for the first time, God actively intervenes in the historical process. But even here His activity is limited, and its nature is rather obscure. Eustathius traces with great clarity man's progress (stimulated by his desire for self-perfection) from bestial savagery to ordered civilization; but the significance of Mosaic law is far from obvious. How was Mosaic law an improvement on the previous law? How did it affect the way people lived?

The law of Moses was the second law, following that which had been written by the wise teachers. The third law was provided by God directly, in His incarnation (*Opusc.*, pp. 18/35–6; 19/7). What was the point of this third act of legislation? Eustathius states that it

brought Mosaic law to perfection (which prompts one to ask how Mosaic law, created by God, was imperfect), that it explained the symbols and riddles of the old code, that it was inexpressibly beautiful and absolutely clear (p. 18/46–53). And yet, apparently, even the third law also contained cryptic meaning which was not universally understood, though it could be deciphered by those who wished to do so (p. 19/15–20). If that is the case, how does the third law differ fundamentally from the second?

Eustathius' view of history is inconsistent in one further respect. The laws of the wise teachers brought man to perfection. What then happened in the aftermath of God's intervention? What was achieved by His 'clear' law? Eustathius looks around himself, at Christian society, and he sees that men revert once more to their primeval savagery: they commit injustices, they rob, slander and abuse their fellows; they work for the destruction of their own souls (*Opusc.*, p. 22/49–52).

Broadly speaking, therefore, Eustathius' concept of historical development leaves almost no room for God. Human society is transformed by man's own desire for self-perfection (or self-destruction), and by man's own efforts and activities (again we recall Eustathius' high estimation of labour, his 'poeticization' of work, and his harsh criticism of idleness). Nevertheless, Eustathius does not abandon the notion of a personalized God who intervenes in the course of events.

Eustathius' 'defence' of God is produced in answer to those who believe in fate or in astrology. In his (undated) homily on the prayer 'Lord, have mercy!', he disputes the 'empty' assertion that events on earth are affected by the movements of the stars ('τοῦ τῶν ἀστέρων ὁρμοῦ') or by some imaginary 'necessity' ('τῆς ἐπινοουμένης εἱμαρμένης') (*E*, fol. 60). Elsewhere, too, he denies the existence of fate ('τύχη'), for, as he puts it, 'the Lord is all' (*Opusc.*, p. 325/60–1).

In raising the question of fate and necessity, and the related question of astrology, Eustathius is not simply intoning literary commonplaces. The targets of his criticism are not the pagan writers of Old Rome, but his Byzantine contemporaries.

Byzantine writers of the twelfth century were much concerned with the problem of fate ('τύχη') and necessity ('εἱμαρμένη'). Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniates clashed over the issue: Cinnamus

was prepared to accept the possibility that history developed autonomously, moved by fate rather than by Divine Providence; Choniates disagreed.[129] Anna Comnena's view was similar to that of Choniates,[130] while Constantine Manasses, like Cinnamus, reckoned that human life was a game of fate.[131] Michael Glycas attacked belief in fate;[132] and Tzetzes states that the notion of 'τύχη' earns respect from the peasant and abuse from the sage.[133]

The idea of autonomous historical development, of fate (which Cinnamus equates with necessity) could help to justify 'scientific' attempts to predict the future, with the aid of astrology. Astrology enjoyed a revival in twelfth-century Byzantium, enthusiastically encouraged by Manuel I. According to Nicetas Choniates, Manuel was guided in his most important decisions by the movements, positions and configurations of the heavenly bodies, and by the deliberations of astrologers (Nic. Chon., p. 154/51–5). John Camaterus and Constantine Manasses wrote tracts on astrology.[134] But not everybody was happy with Manuel's astrological pursuits. After Manuel's death Nicetas Choniates heaped scorn upon his astrologers (Nic. Chon., pp. 220/23–221/31; 558/41–2). And in the emperor's lifetime Michael Glycas wrote him a letter attempting to prove that astrology was incompatible with Christian faith.[135] Even Balsamon, one of Manuel's staunchest supporters, rebuked those who relied on astrologers (*PG*, CXXXVII, col. 1182B).

Eustathius, siding with Nicetas Choniates against astrology and the belief in fate, builds his argument around the concept of a personalized God. 'Surely mercy is a quality of the soul, a live emotion ('ψυχικόν τι πάθος')? How, therefore, can it be engendered by lifeless objects ('ἐκ τῶν ἀψύχων')', that is, by the

[129] See A. P. Kazhdan, 'Eshche raz o Kinname i Nikite Khoniate', *BS*, XXIV 1963), pp. 29–30; also below, pp. 271–5.

[130] Ya. N. Lyubarsky, 'Mirovozzreniye Anny Komniny', *Uchenyye zapiski Velikolukskogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta*, XXIV (1964), pp. 166–7.

[131] K. Horna, 'Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses', *Wiener Studien*, XXVIII (1906), p. 177/117–21; cf. Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1837), v. 6242.

[132] Michael Glycas, *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1836), p. 53/3–10; *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, V, 1 (Brussels, 1904), pp. 140/30; 141/23.

[133] John Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum chiliades* (Leipzig, 1826), p. 513/99; P. Matranga, *Anecdota graeca*, II (Rome, 1850), p. 622/1–7.

[134] Manasses' poem was formerly ascribed to Prodromus: see K. Horna, 'Der Jerusalemer Euripides-Palimpsest', *Hermes*, LXIV (1929), pp. 429–30.

[135] *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, pp. 127/25–128/35. On Anna Comnena's objections to astrology see Lyubarsky, 'Mirovozzreniye Anny Komniny', pp. 157–8.

stars? The course of our affairs is not set by necessity ('οὐκ ἔστιν ἠναγκασμένα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς'), but depends on God, who is able to alter its direction ('μετατρέπειν'). If everything were predetermined, there would be no sense in praying for God's mercy' (*E*, fol. 60). In his commentaries on Homer, Eustathius often identifies Zeus with necessity ('εἱμαρμένη') (e.g. Valk, I, p. 33/25–34; II, p. 514/22–3; III, p. 249/29); but even Homer implies, in Eustathius' reading, that necessity is personal, living and responsive, that it can be averted by prayers and offerings (Valk, II, p. 248/14–16).

Consequently, and despite his 'secular' view of the movement of history as a whole, Eustathius invokes the will of God as an explanation for particular historical events: a certain Chamadracon remained in the besieged city of Thessalonica, ostensibly because he was too ill to leave, but in fact by Divine Providence; God foils the evil designs of the barbarians; events can be changed by the prayers and tears of the patriarch, to whom God hearkens (*Esp.*, pp. 100/15; 116/16; *Fontes*, I, p. 124/1–5). Man makes history, but God may shape historical events.

This two-tiered and somewhat ambiguous view of historical causation can lead Eustathius into difficulties when he comes to consider the question of signs and portents. On the one hand, since God can intervene in events, so He can produce signs which warn man of what is to come. God sent signs which presaged the fall of Thessalonica; and He foretold of the election of Michael III to the patriarchate (*Esp.*, pp. 140/9–144/17; *E*, fol. 157v; cf. also *Esp.*, p. 4/12–14). On the other hand, portents may be deceptive. Eustathius is particularly wary of the signs ('σύμβολα') which reportedly preceded the accession of Manuel I. These 'σύμβολα' are mentioned both by Nicetas Choniates and by Cinnamus. Choniates accepts that they occurred; Cinnamus reckons that they may have been invented.[136] Eustathius is inclined to agree with Cinnamus (who, incidentally, was also a fervent admirer of Manuel): although the youngest son of John II (i.e. Manuel) was undoubtedly chosen for the throne by God, nonetheless it would be better not to recount the signs which are supposed to have announced his coronation (*Opusc.*, pp. 198/39–41; 210/27–9).

On the question of causation Eustathius thus remains true to

[136] Kazhdan, 'Eshche raz o Kinname', p. 22.

Christian tradition, though he does stretch it a little. He does not join Cinnamus and Manasses in accepting the existence of fate, and he preserves the idea of a personalized, merciful God, who intervenes in the affairs of men. Yet he does allow elements of rationalism to creep into his interpretation of history: whatever the causes of particular events, God makes a relatively minor contribution to the development of human history as a whole.

5. AESTHETIC PRINCIPLES

Eustathius was not only a politician and an historian. He was also a writer, a man who perceived and presented life in the images proper to his art. Yet there is a curious dichotomy between his literary practice and his theoretical pronouncements on what literature should be. His writings suggest a concreteness of vision, conveyed through intensely significant, idea-laden imagery. In his art he attempts, to a degree uncommon in a Byzantine author, not to generalize, but to capture the unique quality, the irrepeatable visual and emotional flavour, the particular. But in his theoretical statements he shows a total disdain for the emotional side of artistic description: perception is subordinate to interpretation, feeling yields to reason, and aesthetic pleasure is less important than the communication of ideas. Writing should appeal to the mind, not to the senses. This is a perfectly normal attitude for a medieval Christian author. For Eustathius, a Christian, and eventually an archbishop, the highest art was not that which stimulated the reader's feelings and sharpened his emotional sensitivity to the real world; the highest art was that which led its audience into the 'pure' realm of the spirit, on the path to salvation.

For this reason the ancient wonders of the world seem to Eustathius to be absurdly irrelevant follies. The pyramids of Egypt were merely 'expensive' junk that cast long shadows; the Colossus of Rhodes was immensely high and hugely nonsensical, whereas 'we who ignore such things, we whose thoughts are turned to God, we reckon a wonder the lofty peak of the stylite's pillar – not because it reaches a great height, but because it lightens the burdens of earthly life below it; it leads up to God himself; it is like an edifice of the heavens' (*Opusc.*, p. 193/38–50).

Thus aesthetic values are not set by the skill or magnitude of the

image, but by the quality of the lesson. Art is didactic. Eustathius tells the tale of the capture of Thessalonica in order to edify his flock, that they might never again suffer the wrath of the Lord, never again see His right hand poised to sow death (*Esp.*, p. 152/27–31; cf. 158/4–5). Poetry provides moral instruction, it teaches one how to navigate the sea of life and to survive its many hazards (Valk, II, p. 248/14–16). The actor is 'teacher of all kinds of wisdom', who conquers vices (*Opusc.*, p. 88/69–72). And when art fails to follow Christian principles, it is destructive (*Opusc.*, p. 195/59–60).

Just as the main purpose of art in general is to edify, to lead man towards salvation, so each genre has its own particular function. Because literature is meant to be instructive, rather than to reproduce reality, each genre is shaped by its message, rather than by the actual facts of reality. Hence the strict hierarchy of genres in medieval Christian literature. A writer chooses his genre, and makes the appropriate selection of facts, according to the lesson he wishes to teach.

Thus an encomium should include only 'good' facts, and should gloss over the 'bad' ones (*Esp.*, p. 12/2–3). A speech, Eustathius candidly admits, should contain nothing likely to displease the ruler (*Fontes*, I, p. 1/7–8). The huge clusters of florid epithets, and the glorification of mighty deeds and benefactions, and the descriptions of victories – these are not necessarily the products of Byzantine servility; they are the standard requirements of the rhetorical genre, and they are explained and justified by the genre's didactic function, which is to bolster the power and dignity of the Byzantine state. 'The rhetor, dipping his pen in ink as an arrow in poison, unleashes it on the barbarians and plunges it into their blood' (*Fontes*, I, p. 27/11–13). The image of the pen as a lethal weapon is common in didactic literature.

The frankly political genre of encomium is to be distinguished from historiography. The job of the historian, according to Eustathius, is not to gather praise, but to reveal the truth, so that posterity might retain the memory of events which have fled with time (*Esp.*, p. 14/1–4). The historian must be motivated by a love of truth ('φιλάληθες'), not by affection ('φιλητόν') which may obscure the truth (*Esp.*, p. 12/28–30). Only if he loves truth can the historian fulfil his didactic task: to establish a link between the

present and events of the past, and to extract from past events lessons which help one to understand present events (*Esp.*, p. 18/8–10).

Several Byzantine authors make a similar distinction between encomium and historiography.[137] But Eustathius carries the argument further. He distinguishes two separate genres of historiography: narrative of the events of the distant past, and narrative of things which happened recently. The 'ancient' historian ('καθιστορῶν') can write coolly and impartially. He can cover many diverse themes, such as theology, science and topography, as well as narrative. The 'modern' historian ('συγγραφόμενος') shows less breadth of knowledge, more depth of passion. Lay authors, especially, may be forgiven for displaying intense feeling; the clergy should normally have the experience to avoid over-dramatizing their emotions, for they know how great is the difference between lamentation and praise of the Almighty (*Esp.*, pp. 3/14–4/2).

The fixed hierarchy of genres is maintained by fixed conventions within each individual genre. A genre, which is intended to convey a set idea, acquires and requires a set shape. The same formal elements are repeated from work to work. Thoughts, images and comparisons become traditional, conventional, obligatory for the correct formation of the genre. Eustathius tries to justify this formulaic method of composition. Solon, he claims, once decreed that a maker of seals must on no account keep a mould or model, but must destroy it and never use it again. In other words, the classical world demanded that each work of art should be unique. Now, says Eustathius, we have different standards. The divine deeds of emperors should be recalled constantly, and their image must be preserved (*Fontes*, I, p. 98/21–6). This argument provides a theoretical justification for the perpetual repetitiveness, for the standard formulae which turn up in one panegyric after another. The repetitive formulae are essential to the didactic purpose of Byzantine literature, whose aim is not to reproduce reality but to convey a set idea, not to communicate or stimulate fresh impressions but to state the case correctly.

Nevertheless, Eustathius' support for these principles is some-

[137] See Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 139–40.

what equivocal. He cannot fully commit himself to sacrificing individuality in the interests of typicality. In his remarks on particular authors he shows an aesthetic judgement and taste which owe little to (and which sometimes contradict) the grandly formulaic scheme. For example, he praises (rightly or wrongly) the instructions of Manuel I as models of the art of rhetoric: they exhibit many pleasingly formulaic qualities (they contrive to be both elegant and serious, both pleasant and lofty; they combine the roar of the lion with the song of the nightingale; they draw both on the words of the apostles and on the wisdom of secular learning); but in addition there was apparently hardly a conversation in which the emperor did not say something new ('καινόν') (*Fontes*, I, p. 54/13–18; *Opusc.*, p. 202/74–81). 'New', for Eustathius' contemporaries, was often synonymous with 'heretical',[138] so it is noteworthy that Eustathius gives the word positive aesthetic connotations. In a similar vein he lists the rhetorical skills of Homer's Nestor, giving pride of place to 'novelty' (Valk, II, p. 432/3–5).

Besides newness, Eustathius praises stylistic variation: Manuel managed to mix eloquence with humour; Nestor interspersed the mild with the rude and colloquial; Gregory Antiochus varied his imagery (Valk, II, p. 432/3–5; *Opusc.*, p. 325/71–81).[139]

Moreover, Eustathius appreciates the fact that set formulae can become stale; that he and his contemporaries needed to use them with more care: 'In my speeches I prefer not to use metaphors of the sun' (*Opusc.*, p. 207/30–3), despite the fact that in twelfth-century rhetoric the sun was one of the most common metaphors for the emperor.[140] Eustathius ostentatiously declines to describe in detail the background, childhood and early youth of his hero, the patriarch Michael III (*E*, fol. 158).[141] In his speech on the death of Nicholas Hagiotheodorites he explains this decision: many people can boast of a noble lineage, a glorious birthplace, and a fine education; but Eustathius wishes to emphasize the qualities which

[138] See P. Wirth, *'Kainos theologos'*, *Oriens Christianus*, XLV (1961), pp. 127–8; Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya', p. 4, n. 8.

[139] See also G. Lindberg, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios* (Lund, 1977), pp. 192–9.

[140] See e.g. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropulos an den Kaiser Isaak II Angelos* (Munich, 1935), p. 10/24, and p. 23, n. 1; Hunger, *Prooimion*, pp. 75–80; Hörandner in *Hist. Ged.*, pp. 103–4.

[141] cf. P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos, Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1972), p. 72/9–16, for a similar dislike of genealogical eulogy.

set his subject apart from others, not the qualities which are common to many ('ἃ δὲ κοινὰ καὶ ἄλλοις') (*E*, fol. 35v).

Not that Eustathius abandoned cliché and convention. For the most part he adhered rigidly to hagiographical and rhetorical traditions. Yet he remained convinced of the need to search for new forms, even if his practice was more restrained than his principles.

Twice the lemmas of the Escorial manuscript record Eustathius' violation of the norms of his chosen genre. In the lemma to his epitaph for Nicholas Hagiotheodorites the commentator notes that this work is not a pure monody ('οὐ μονῳδικὸς ἀκράτως'), but of mixed genre ('μικτὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος'): a pure monody would not have been appropriate either for the author or for the deceased ('οὐ γὰρ ἔπρεπε τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος εἰς ἀκέραιον οὔτε τῷ κειμένῳ, οὔτε τῷ γράψαντι'); hence Eustathius produced a combination of two genres ('ἐξ ἀμφοῖν'), classical epitaph and monody. This was a device peculiar to Eustathius ('μέθοδος ἰδία ταῦτα τοῦ γράψαντος') (*E*, fol. 34).

Eustathius' homily on friendship is similarly introduced: it was constructed like a rhetorical declaration ('κατὰ μελέτην θέσεως'), yet it lacked a preamble, so that it did not quite fit the pattern ('οὐκ αὐτόχρημα θετικόν ἐστι γύμνασμα') (fol. 46).

Thus Eustathius' own contemporaries noted his occasional tendency to ignore the hierarchy of genres.

Byzantine literature strove to create images of the sublime. Spiritual qualities were depicted in the most generalized form. The body, physical features, and all the mutable stuff of material reality presented the writer with an awkward and unwelcome burden. This, in principle, was also the opinion of Eustathius. He criticizes classical artists for their depiction of the naked body ('we are not pleased by nudity') (*Opusc.*, p. 330/46–8).[142] He praises the beauty of Manuel I, but expressly declines to describe in any detail the emperor's features, which so delight those who behold him and which attract those who only hear of him (*Fontes*, I, p. 51/25–7).

Through this very refusal, Eustathius implicitly admits that, despite the traditional aesthetic norms, his contemporaries found physical descriptions attractive. Indeed he himself uses detailed physical descriptions to good effect, both in his account of the

[142] See the conjecture by Wirth, 'Gehört die Ethopoiie', p. 217.

capture of Thessalonica and in his pamphlet against monks. He uses the details of clothes, behaviour and speech in order to convey the inner qualities of his characters. The felt hat of David Comnenus is no mere curiosity; it contributes to the image of the Thessalonican governor's eccentric cowardice. The monk's black cowl, which rises well above his eyes at any sordid occurrence, provides a far more devastating condemnation of the 'intermediary between God and men' than do any abstract exhortations to virtue.

Introducing his story of the capture of Thessalonica, Eustathius remarks that outsiders might sum up this event with words like 'momentous', 'devastating', or 'calamitous' ('μεγάλη', 'βαρυσύμφορος', 'πάνδεινος'). But no word could truly sum up what the fall of the city meant for those who lived through it. One might speak of 'the eclipse of a great luminary', but this would indicate only the scale of the misfortune, not the strength of turbulent emotion (*Esp.*, pp. 4/24–6/3). Apparently, therefore, the richness of reality cannot always be reduced (or raised) to the level of a general formulaic expression. It is inadequate merely to intone 'a great luminary has been eclipsed'; one must find the real details, the real incidents which alone can convey to readers the true intensity of the experience. This is the aim of Eustathius' narrative: to create images which are individual, emotional, intense, and therefore effective (or affective).

In this respect Eustathius' literary practice is at odds with the aesthetic theory.

The didactic principles of Byzantine art required the maximum possible generalization of image. The image becomes an abstract type, and the abstract type becomes a convention, a commonplace. But Eustathius saw also the details, the mundane minutiae, the forms and feelings of particular reality. He writes of his teachers who, while walking by the roadside, pause to sit and rest on a crumbled column, on a mound of shingle, or in the shade of a fig-tree (*Opusc.*, p. 111/78–91). He writes of the mice that had started to breed in his house, and whose nocturnal scratching disturbed his sleep: unable to endure the nuisance any longer, Eustathius rose from his bed, took a lamp in one hand and a stick in the other, and proceeded to stalk the impudent beast; the mouse fled, and a swaying wine-jar (secured on a string) was the only reminder of its passage (*Opusc.*, p. 313/57–61).

Where is the edification in these thoroughly humdrum episodes? How do they lead the soul towards salvation? They do not, nor are they intended to. By dwelling on such details, by savouring such small moments of transient reality, Eustathius in effect transgresses against the canons of 'official' Christian aesthetics. His gentle self-mockery at being thwarted by the triumphant mouse reveals a love of life too strong to be perpetually bound by formal aesthetic constraints. Eustathius puts it quite simply: one should love all aspects of life (*Opusc.*, p. 111/54–6).

His delighted account of the meal to which he was treated by Nicephorus Comnenus after a hard winter journey, and his succulent description of how he sent to a friend a fat, white bird doused in wine and stuffed with dumplings (*Opusc.*, pp. 311/42–54; 311/81–312/12), are hardly calculated to induce the reader to observe the fast. The cuisine is almost Rabelaisian.

Because Eustathius thought in tangible images, and not always in formulaic generalizations, he was able to produce the telling details to encapsulate a real situation. Thessalonica, the 'great luminary', fell. Thousands of people were led away into captivity or died of hunger. Thus far Eustathius sticks to convention. But then, suddenly, he starts talking of the city's dogs, which the Normans slaughtered without mercy: 'and if any dog chanced to survive, it barked and jumped only at the Rhomaioi; to Latins it would creep, whining. Even the dogs recognized the full measure of the disaster' (*Esp.*, p. 114/6–9). Similarly in his commentary on the Iliad (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1257/18–22) Eustathius related Priam's prediction that his own guard-dogs would rend him in pieces. How better to convey the humiliation of the Thessalonicans than with the image of the dog which barks at its own masters and fawns at the feet of the conqueror? Eustathius juxtaposes two utterly different systems of artistic perception and representation: on the one hand there is the 'eclipse of the great luminary', the grand generalization; and on the other hand there is the mundane image, both shocking and naive, symbolic of the tragedy as a whole, yet reducing it to more humanly comprehensible proportions.

Although Eustathius sanctimoniously censures the ancient pagans for depicting the nude body, he himself is not averse to producing naturalistic physical details. In his account of the capture of Thessalonica he mentions a barbarian who enters a church,

climbs onto the holy altar, and urinates, sending a stream of liquid high into the air (*Esp.*, pp. 114/35–116/1). In his commentaries on Homer he makes several references to genitals, buttocks and excrement (Valk, II, pp. 23/15; 414/13–15; 592/4–5; III, pp. 504/78; 531/5; *Comm. ad Hom.* 1619/41).

In Eustathius' time art was meant to extract the general lesson from the particular event, to sever all temporal and material ties, and to produce, as far as was humanly possible, a purely spiritual image. The most consistent practical embodiment of these principles is the classic *vita*. The *vita* relies on a relatively small number of stock situations and episodes which symbolize the saint's goodness, endurance or courage. Such situations migrate from *vita* to *vita*. The chief aim both of the saint and of his hagiographer was to overcome earthly limitations. Like the hagiographer, the world chronicler also, by tradition, presented the general essence of events, the bare bones of history, not the flesh and blood of particular phenomena. The chronicler Leo the Deacon in the tenth century was quite happy to use in his own work battle-descriptions copied from the sixth-century historian Agathias, so that the armies of his tenth-century contemporaries muster and go into battle exactly as their sixth-century predecessors. Leo the Deacon was neither incompetent nor ignorant. His plagiarism is not a fault, but a virtue, the proper embodiment of an aesthetic principle. The writer perceives and reproduces not the specific object or phenomenon, but its timeless essence. Leo the Deacon records the fact that a battle took place, and he records who was victorious and who was defeated. Further particulars are irrelevant to him, and descriptions of the actual battles are interchangeable.

From the mid eleventh century (in effect, starting with Michael Psellus) Byzantine writers began to break down the boundaries set by traditional aesthetics. As a result, the genres which had been dominant from the eighth to the tenth centuries – hagiography and hymnography – underwent something of a crisis. In theory the spiritual, general ideal remained in force, and in practice it continued to shape the writings of Byzantine mystics like Symeon the Theologian. But it was not adequate to contain the artistic perceptions of Eustathius, his sense of tangible and changing reality, his sensitivity to the unique and characteristic details of the

moment. Nor was Eustathius the only author to challenge convention: the brothers Choniates, Theodore Prodromus, Nicholas Mesarites and others all display, in varying degrees, the same kind of direct, naturalistic response to reality.

As writers distanced themselves from the generalizing conventions, as they became less overtly and less consistently didactic, so they began to introduce a degree of complexity and ambivalence into their descriptions of human character. In the traditional *vita*, chronicle or hymn, the evaluation of character was clear and unambiguous. But in the twelfth century, when writers ceased to arrange and assess events according to a moral pattern determined *a priori*, when they looked instead at how people actually behaved, then they had to confront the fact that actual behaviour rarely shows the same moral consistency as any pre-set scheme. Not that the traditional moral categories and literary practices disappeared overnight: change was slow and irregular; the rhetorical art of panegyric was not substantially transformed. Nonetheless, Eustathius readily admits that a man's character may be a mixture of both good and evil; that a good man may turn bad; even the utterly odius David Comnenus was not entirely without virtues (*Esp.*, pp. 14/4–5; 128/5–7). Eustathius much admires the contradictory nature of Achilles: Homer first lauds him as a valiant hero, then shows him as a piteous man who begs for deliverance, humbled before a wretched death (*Comm. ad Hom.* 1236/46–7).

We have already seen the complexity of Eustathius' Manuel I. His portrayal of the young Alexius, heir to the throne, is similarly textured. Here, too, panegyric convention overshadows true observation, but cannot wholly obscure the variety of Eustathius' impressions. In his second speech to the patriarch Michael, Eustathius describes Alexius as a boy who delights in the proper pleasures and pursuits of childhood. Yet Alexius had also to observe the restraints of his imperial position: however excited his play, he would calm down as soon as he was called; the moment he was reminded that he was an emperor, he would bear himself with imperial dignity (*E*, fol. 170v). So Alexius is no incorporeal cherub, but a lively boy in a difficult position, coping well with conflicting demands and emotions.

The traditional aesthetics of abstract edification allow no room for the personality of the narrator. Thus, for example, historians

before Attaleiates and Psellus avoid mentioning their own participation in the events of their narrative. And, more significantly, writers from the seventh to the tenth century tended to 'objectivize' their own views of good and evil, their own opinions of people and events. Moral assessments were presented not as opinions, but as facts, somehow present in the events themselves. The impression is that the author exercises no judgement of his own, but simply records divine truth. By a peculiar paradox the chronicler, who constantly and conventionally bemoans his own ignorance, his own insignificance, manages at the same time to elevate himself to the position of an infallibly objective judge. His personal tastes and values are presented as integral parts of external reality. Other opinion, mere interpretation, is automatically rendered impossible.[143]

Eustathius breaks this illusion of objectivity. Like Psellus and Prodromus he asserts the right of the narrator to speak of himself, to admit his own existence. When asking John Ducas to relate the deeds of the emperor, he encourages him not to conceal his own (Ducas') role in the battles (*Fontes*, I, p. 23/20–2). And no reader of Eustathius' 'Capture of Thessalonica' could accuse its author of reticence.

Eustathius the Narrator intrudes into the story in two ways. He participates in the events; and his description of them is coloured by his own vividly expressed attitudes towards them. He does not adopt the pose of a divinely distanced observer. Instead he ceaselessly, restlessly, often trivially interferes in the action of his narrative. He, as author, is ever-present (whether overtly or implicitly), to be seen, to act, to argue, to reject accusations.

One of the most typical forms of Eustathius' self-assertion is his sharp irony. Irony is not in the repertoire of the hagiographer or the chronicler. Such writers are above irony, for they have the power of total objectivity, they know with absolute certainty what is good and what is bad. Irony requires the partisan presence of the ironist; it suggests a debate. The writer instantly becomes advocate or adversary, no longer supreme judge. Rather than pronounce moral

[143] See I. S. Chichurov, 'K probleme avtorskogo samosoznaniya vizantiyskikh istorikov IV-IX vv.', in *Antichnost' i Vizantiya*, ed. L. A. Freyberg (Moscow, 1975), pp. 203–17; A. Kazhdan, 'Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte', *JÖB*, XXVIII (1979), pp. 11–13.

judgement on his characters, Eustathius derides them or argues with them. Rather than label them, he responds to them. He depicts them not *sub specie aeternitatis*, but in relation to himself: hence the irony. Those who use irony may be convinced that they are right, but they admit, at least implicitly, that there may be a different view. Points have to be won, not gained by default.

Eustathius' 'modern', unconventional qualities must of course be seen in their proper context. Eustathius remains thoroughly medieval both in his thought and in his literary methods. He is rhetorical and verbose, and for the most part he sticks to conventional forms and devices. Just occasionally, however, he manages to clear the fog of convention and to give fresh life to tired old expressions. What could be more hackneyed than the ubiquitous etymological word-games with the names of characters? Theodore is God's gift; Euthymius is of good spirit. Eustathius puns all the time, but his word-games are so much more elegant and subtle. They are not mere tautologies. They develop the sense, the image. Hypocrisy, says Eustathius, is like a delightful-looking ('χαροπόν') beast, the delightfulness ('χαρά') of whose visage belies the jaggedness of its teeth ('τὸ τῶν ὀδόντων κάρχαρον') (*Opusc.*, p. 73/40–1). A monk is 'not an ascetic, but a bloated wineskin' ('ἀσκητής', 'ἀσκιτής') (*Opusc.*, p. 224/10). The pun ceases to be an end in itself, just as generalized and transferable formulae cease to be adequate and aesthetically satisfying expressions of reality.

In the opinion of Michael Choniates, Eustathius' great achievement was to defend and restore the art of true rhetoric: while the majority composed false rhetoric in which they sacrificed thought for ornament, Eustathius brought back to rhetoric its ancestral virtues (Mich. Ak., pp. 291/20–292/17). We might not interpret Eustathius' contribution in quite the same way: we would stress innovation, rather than the restoration of tradition. Nevertheless, Choniates clearly recognized in his teacher the qualities which have emerged in the present survey: that Eustathius' rhetoric was different from that of many of his contemporaries; and that Eustathius was not content to use formulae as substitutes for thought. 'Correct' form was not, for Eustathius, a sufficient guarantee of adequate meaning.

Eustathius was a major writer at a crossroads in literary history.

He adhered to traditional principles, yet in practice he often broke them. He was both archaizer and innovator. He was brought up to accept the didactic aesthetics of medieval Christianity, whereby reality was to be 'aestheticized' in accordance with unchanging ideals; yet as an artist he perceived and translated into literary images the variety, the vitality, the delicious uniqueness of actual, mundane existence.

CONCLUSIONS

Modern scholars have only gradually come to appreciate the breadth of Eustathius' talents. His first claim to fame was as a commentator on Homer and Pindar, as a man who valued and preserved the heritage of antiquity. Then he began to be recognized as an important historian of twelfth-century Byzantium, whose works are now considered to be essential sources for the period. And finally scholars discovered Eustathius as churchman, Eustathius the monastic reformer.

The aim of the present study has been to shed light on two other areas of Eustathius' achievements: on his role in the twelfth-century struggle of ideas, and on his place in the development of Byzantine literature. His support for Manuel I did not stem from a blind obsequiousness; it was based on conviction, on Eustathius' genuine empathy with the policies of the Comneni. His support was firm, but not total: he disagreed with Manuel, and was prepared to say so, on a number of political, ecclesiastical, moral and historical issues.

Eustathius' opinions are most clearly delineated in comparison with the opinions of his contemporaries. Here there is much work yet to be done, and the present observations must remain tentative. It would be premature to attempt any precise description of the twelfth-century social groups and forces which are reflected in the literature of the period. Yet is is clear that in twelfth-century Byzantine literature there is a constant undercurrent of debate, of the clash of ideas and social interests. Eustathius' writings are polemical, whether explicitly or by implication, whether the subject is land distribution, *charistikia*, monasticism, the moral problems of friendship and hypocrisy, or the logic of historical causation and development. He wrote not just because he had the ability to write, but because he had something to say.

6. *Conclusions*

In the literature of Eustathius' time the force of tradition was far stronger and more stable than, say, in the social thought of the nineteenth century. Imitation was a virtue; the very strongest arguments were those of precedent and biblical authority. But despite the conventions, and often in flat contradiction of them, Eustathius and others still expressed their own individual opinions and perceptions.

The aesthetic appreciation of Byzantine literature is a much-neglected field of study. So often works of Byzantine literature are viewed as agglomerations of various elements, not as the embodiments of a system whose function was to express a particular version of reality. Nor was the system itself static. Literature reflected not only the struggle of social, moral and philosophical ideas, but also the clash of aesthetic principles.

Traditional Byzantine literature embodied an abstract, generalized vision of the world, depicted in symbols and formulae, edifying, aimed at the salvation of the soul. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the didactic, mystical aesthetic ideal began to be challenged (in practice more than in theory) as writers took more of an interest in the complex, transient, varied, non-formulaic occurrences of ordinary life. Eustathius was a distinguished exponent of the new trend.

There is no obvious or direct link between Eustathius' literary perceptions and his social opinions. But his general inclination for a kind of rationalism is at any rate compatible with his attempts to bypass the requirements of conventional, mystical aesthetics.[144]

[144] On Eustathius' textual scholarship see now N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), which appeared when the present book was already in proof.

V

Gregory Antiochus: writer and bureaucrat

The twelfth-century Byzantine author Gregory Antiochus was, until recently, almost unknown. His works remained unpublished, or inaccurately attributed. Krumbacher, in his monumental history of Byzantine literature, mentioned the existence of manuscripts with Antiochus' speeches and letters, but recorded only one work which had appeared in print.[1] Gradually, more information came to light. In 1917 W. Regel published a speech by Antiochus to Isaac II Angelus (*Fontes*, II, pp. 300–4). In 1940 Dölger and Bachmann produced an annotated edition of another speech, this time to Isaac's brother Constantine.[2] Twenty years later P. Wirth established that two 'anonymous' speeches published by Regel were in fact written by Antiochus.[3] And finally, J. Darrouzès published three more works by Antiochus, compiled a list of all his known compositions (thirty-five items), and attempted to sketch the outlines of his biography.[4]

Yet long before the editions of Dölger, Bachmann, Wirth and Darrouzès, the works of Gregory Antiochus had been studied by the eminent Russian classicist N. I. Novosadsky. Novosadsky copied several speeches and letters from the invaluable Byzantine

[1] Krumbacher, pp. 472, 475; cf. the brief note in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, p. 292. Krumbacher followed the editor in stating that the work was addressed to Michael Choniates; in fact the addressee was Nicholas Hagiotheodorites.

[2] M. Bachmann, F. Dölger, 'Die Rede des *megas droungarios* Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos', *BZ*, XI (1940), pp. 353–405.

[3] P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des XII Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1960), pp. 10–12, 22ff.

[4] J. Darrouzès, 'Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos', *REB*, XX, (1962), pp. 61–92, repr. in his *Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins* (London, 1972), pt. VII; *idem*, 'Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173', *BS*, XXIII (1962), pp. 276–84; XXIV (1963), pp. 65–86; see also the reviews by P. Wirth in *BZ*, LVI (1963), pp. 105–8, 339–40, and the short note in Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 137; also a brief letter to a *chartophylax* (Darrouzès, 'Notice', no. 26), published by A. P. Kazhdan, *VV*, XXVI (1965), pp. 94–5.

miscellany Escorial Y-II-10 (*E*), apparently with the intention of publishing them with Regel in some future volume of Regel's *Fontes*. But Regel died, circumstances changed, and Novosadsky's files lay untouched at his home until they were eventually passed by his widow to the Byzantine department of the Institute of History at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. These files revealed that Novosadsky had made copies of fourteen works by Antiochus, eleven of them unpublished:

1 A letter to the abbot of a monastery on the island of Antigone (No. 6 in Darrouzès' list).
2 A homily of consolation to the logothete [Michael] Hagiotheodorites (No. 7).
3 A monody on the death of the son of the *protosebastos* [Alexius Comnenus] (No. 8).
4 An address to the patriarch Basil Camaterus (No. 9).
5 An obituary to Nicholas Cataphloron (No. 10).
6 A letter [to his superior] (No. 13).[5]
7 A homily of consolation to the imperial *grammatikos* Constantine Apimpithioum (No. 14).
8–9 Two homilies addressed to the *drungarios* Andronicus Camaterus (Nos. 15–16).
10 [A letter to a patriarch, with no heading], (No. 17).
11 A letter to Euthymius Malaces, metropolitan of Neopatrae (No. 19). The manuscript also contained the opening lines of a second letter to Malaces (No. 20), but Novosadsky's copy of it seems to be lost.

The present study is based on the works in *E*, as well as the few published texts. All manuscript references are to *E*.

We do not know when Antiochus was born, but he must have reached maturity by the end of the 1150s. His epitaph to Nicholas Cataphloron was written in 1160. His speech to the patriarch Luke Chrysoberges (1157–1169/70) was written slightly earlier: in it he speaks of awakening from a long sleep, during which the flame of eloquence remained unlit; and of his entry into the ranks of speech-writers (fol. 496). We may surmise that Antiochus' career as an orator started (or was resumed?) with this speech. As to the date of the speech, it must have been written soon after Luke became

[5] Published by Kazhdan, *VV*, XXVI, pp. 98–9.

patriarch: Antiochus records how the emperor took Luke from the monastery of the Source, as the daughter of Pharaoh had taken Moses from the river, and made him father to the orphaned children of the church ('πατέρα τοῖς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις ἀπωρφανισμένοις') (fol. 498v); and Luke then delivered a sermon, clothed in the ceremonial garb of the church's bridegroom (fol. 503).

This speech, therefore, was composed when Luke's election was still fresh in the memory. But it was not written immediately after the event. Antiochus speaks of a 'reconciliation between the warring limbs of the body of the church' (fol. 502), which must surely be a reference to the second council against Soterichus (1157), in which Luke participated; and Antiochus rejoices in the defeat of barbarians, who now mourn their demise (fol. 496) – probably a reference to a string of Byzantine victories in the East in 1159.

Thus Antiochus' first datable work was written in approximately 1159.

Antiochus was a native of Constantinople. As he tells Basil Camaterus: 'I am no alien here; I did not come from elsewhere ('ἔξωθέν ποθεν ἔπηλυς'); I am locally born ('αὐθιγένης'), and I belong here ('γνήσιος')'(fol. 151).

Darrouzès has suggested that Gregory Antiochus was related to the ruling dynasty of the Comneni.[6] The hypothesis is formed as follows: a poem by 'Pseudo-Prodromus' in the Venice codex[7] mourns the passing of a certain Antiochus, who was survived by his son Stephen and by a daughter. This daughter was married to Constantius, son of the *sebastos* Isaac Comnenus. According to Darrouzès, this Constantius is in fact Constantine, third son of the *sebastocrator* Isaac (the correspondent of Theophylact of Ohrid). An unpublished twelfth-century seal apparently mentions a Gregory, named Antiochus on his mother's side.[8] This, claims Darrouzès, is our Gregory Antiochus. If the elaborate hypothesis is correct, then Gregory Antiochus' mother was the daughter of Stephen Antiochus, the granddaughter of the Antiochus whose death is

[6] Darrouzès, 'Notice', pp. 76–7.

[7] On these poems see above, pp. 87–90.

[8] Darrouzès does not mention the location of the seal. W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, 1 (Vienna, 1978), p. 248, mentions this seal (again with no location) and a parallel lead seal (in the Hermitage collection) of Theodore Castamonites, 'Antiochus on his mother's side'; Seibt rejects the hypothesis of Darrouzès.

lamented by 'Pseudo-Prodromus', and the niece of Constantine Comnenus.

Unfortunately, the argument has to rely on a succession of tenuous identifications, and still contains some awkward anomalies. The poem by Pseudo-Prodromus dates from the mid twelfth century, when Gregory Antiochus was already (or was soon to become) engaged in his own literary pursuits; yet Darrouzès' hypothesis makes him the great-grandson of the deceased Antiochus in Pseudo-Prodromus. Pseudo-Prodromus mentions a son and a daughter, but no grandchildren. The son, Stephen, is more likely to be Gregory's contemporary than his grandfather. Nor is Stephen's sister likely to have been the wife of Constantine Comnenus, who was *dux* of Berroea in Macedonia near the beginning of the twelfth century. In any case, Pseudo-Prodromus calls her husband Constantius, not Constantine, and her father-in-law *sebastos*, not *sebastocrator*. Under Alexius I the title *sebastocrator* belonged to the emperor's older brother. If Constantius is Constantine, and if his father Isaac was *sebastocrator*, then Constantine would be the emperor's nephew. Gregory Antiochus would surely have mentioned such distinguished ancestors, had he possessed them.

Far from boasting of a noble lineage, Gregory repeatedly points out that his origins were humble. He claims to have been a pauper who from childhood was obliged to live daily with adversity;[9] an ordinary citizen, a man of lowly position (*Fontes*, II, p. 187/20–6). He was used to moving among small traders ('μικρεμπόροις'), not among great merchants ('σεμνοί τε καὶ μεγαλέμποροι') (fol. 251). Writing to Demetrius Tornices, he claims that between his own humble background and the high birth of Tornices there was a gulf as great as that between a grain of millet and the heavens (fol. 396). A close relative of the imperial family would hardly denigrate himself to this extent, even for the sake of politeness.

We do not know whether or not Gregory was related to Stephen Antiochus, or to another Antiochus who was a contemporary and enemy of Theophylact of Ohrid.[10] The only reliable information on Gregory's family is to be found in Gregory's own works.

[9] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', pp. 385/1–3, 386/9.

[10] See G. Litavrin, *Bolgariya i Vizantiya v XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1960), p. 137; also the seal of a

Despite Gregory's protestations of abject poverty, his father must have been a man of means, for he was able to obtain a derelict church which had been converted into a granary, and to found there a small convent for twelve nuns; and it was his intention to build houses, the rent from which would support the nuns after his death.[11] Gregory's aunt – his father's sister – entered a convent controlled by a *chartophylax*. Apparently she was the target of certain false accusations, for which the *chartophylax* punished her severely: Gregory wrote to the *chartophylax* asking that his aunt's penance should be ended before Easter (fols. 402v–403).

Gregory received his higher education in Constantinople, under Nicholas Cataphloron. Cataphloron died in 1160. From Gregory's obituary of him we learn that Cataphloron had been a talented commentator on the Pauline epistles, as a result of which he was appointed to teach the Gospels (as *didaskalos tou euangeliou*), and then as the 'master of rhetors' *(maistor ton rhetoron)* at the patriarchal school.[12] This latter duty was entrusted to him by the emperor himself, who also raised him to the senate. He was a cleric ('τοῖς ἱερᾶσθαι λαχοῦσιν ἀποκεκληρῶται') (fol. 268), and he was widely expected to follow many of his predecessors and become a bishop ('χρισθῆναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χρίσεως') (fol. 296v), but his untimely death deprived him of this reward. Antiochus states quite unambiguously that Cataphloron had been his teacher (fol. 266).

After Cataphloron's death in 1160, Antiochus continued his studies at the school of rhetoric. He says (fol. 403v) that he became the pupil ('φοιτητής') of the *hypertimos* of Athens (Nicholas Hagiotheodorites). Nicholas Hagiotheodorites is well known and documented. He died in 1178, and we possess several obituaries to him, written by some of the most distinguished orators of the time (including the one by Eustathius of Thessalonica). According to Pseudo-Euthymius Tornices, Nicholas occupied the 'sophistic' chair (i.e. he was *maistor ton rhetoron*) before becoming a bishop.[13]

curopalates Stephen Antiochus, from the 1160s to the 1180s, in Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel*, no. 117..

[11] Darrouzès, 'Notice', pp. 87–9; cf. P. Wirth, 'Miszellen zu den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Jerusalem', *JÖB*, IX (1960), pp. 47ff., who thought that the convent was founded by Gregory, not his father. Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 126–7, follows Wirth.

[12] This fragment has been published by P. Wirth, 'Zu Nikolaos Kataphloros', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXI (1960), p. 213.

[13] A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St Petersburg, 1913), p. 160/4–5. Nicholas does not figure in the list of teachers of rhetoric compiled by Browning,

Since he received his bishopric between 1157 and 1166 (as we may judge by the lists of witnesses to the proceedings of church councils), it is a fair assumption that he was Cataphloron's successor at the school of rhetoric.

Another of Antiochus' teachers was Eustathius of Thessalonica. In a letter, Gregory says that Eustathius took him as dust and made him into a man.[14] Eustathius probably occupied the chair of rhetoric at the end of the 1160s.[15]

During the period of his studies at the school of rhetoric, Gregory Antiochus came into contact with several of the literary giants of his day. Nicholas Cataphloron and Nicholas Hagiotheodorites were his teachers. Eustathius of Thessalonica corresponded with him, and lavished ample praise on his skill in rhetoric (*Opusc.*, pp. 325/71–81; 327/57–8, 74; 328/45–6). Eustathius' close friend, Euthymius Malaces, also exchanged letters with Antiochus: letters to him from Antiochus are preserved in *E*. And yet Antiochus never felt quite at ease with Eustathius and his circle. He seems to have lacked confidence both in his abilities and in his luck. 'You live in the heavens', he writes to Eustathius, 'while I am all too earth-bound' (fol. 420).

Gregory's unease apparently stems from his decision to quit the world of learning in order to make a career in administration. Even here, however, his ambitions were for a long while frustrated. This is how he describes his changed circumstances to Andronicus Camaterus: he used to live in a sweet garden ('τὸ γλυκὺ κηπίον') filled with the trees of knowledge, without which man degenerates into primitive ignorance ('εἰς ἀγνωστίαν καὶ ἀγροικίαν'). He had wisely been instructed to sample all the fruits of this paradise, to absorb all kinds of knowledge, all forms of wisdom. But at all costs he was to avoid the trees which grew beyond the limits, so as not to consume their deadly poison ('καὶ μὴ θάνατον συγκατασπάσαιμι τῷ λαιμῷ'). Life outside the garden offered no freedom, only servitude ('ἡ ἀνδραποδώδης θητεία καὶ ἀνελεύθερος βιοτή') (fol. 380v). Nevertheless, Gregory did forsake the garden of sweet books and learning. Now he has no time even to wander back on

'Patriarchal School'. On Nicholas Hagiotheodorites see also A. Kazhdan, 'Brat'ya Ayofeodority pri dvore Manuila Komnina', *ZRVI*, IX (1966), pp. 90–4; also above, pp. 123, 129–30.

[14] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, pp. 302–4.

[15] On the chronology, see above, pp. 121–2.

the occasional visit. He gazes from afar at the blessings which he once enjoyed (fol. 381).

Very little information survives concerning Gregory's career in service. In 1181, in his speech on the death of Manuel I, he calls himself a slave ('δοῦλος') of the emperor, and an imperial secretary ('γραμματεύς') (*Fontes*, II, pp. 193/20; 205/3; cf. 214/4–5).[16] In a later work he writes that he occupied the post of imperial secretary in his youth, and that he had dealt with secret business;[17] from his youth ('ἐξ ἔτι νεάζοντος') he had been in imperial service ('βασιλικός'), one of the numerous minor functionaries at court (fol. 258v); he speaks of '*we* servants of the imperial house' ('τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ βασιλικῇ θεραπευτικούς') (fol. 386).

From the imperial chancery Gregory moved into legal administration. Eustathius of Thessalonica addresses him as judge of the *velum (Opusc.*, p. 324).

Later in life, when Gregory looks back over his career, he recalls with particular pride his stint as a judge. In a homily in praise of John the Baptist, written after 1186, he dwells on how he used to administer judgement and justice ('περὶ κρίσεως καὶ δίκης') (fol. 452v), an incorruptible judge ('ἀνάλωτον δικαστήν') (fol. 453). And in an address to Constantine Angelus, written at about the same time, Gregory looks back wistfully to the days of old, when the great emperor (probably Manuel I) transferred him from rank to rank, from low office to high, from the back benches to the front. Gregory has fond memories of the two white bands which were the badge of his dignity.[18] And he remains enraptured by his own virtuousness in the conduct of his profession: 'I had neither the desire nor the capacity to enrich myself through the exercise of power, or to oppress those who appeared before me.'[19]

But this idyllic picture was etched only in the memory. In all that he actually wrote during the reign of Manuel I, Gregory constantly complained of the problems and burdens of his service.

[16] Darrouzès, 'Notice', p. 64, n. 10, mistakenly denies that Gregory refers to himself as an imperial secretary. Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 360, n. 2, and S. Pétridès, 'Deux canons inédites de Georges Skylitzès', *VV*, x (1903), p. 464, identify Gregory with the imperial *grammatikos* Gregory who is mocked by John Tzetzes; the hypothesis is problematic.

[17] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 386/9–10.

[18] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 393/10–16.

[19] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', pp. 395/11–12; 396/1–4.

We find a rhetorical description of these years in Gregory's first speech to Andronicus Camaterus. After leaving the 'sweet garden', Gregory spent his days and nights in hardship and toil ('κόποις καὶ μόχθοις ἡμέρας ἐκκείμενος καὶ νυκτός'); his way was strewn with thorns (fol. 381). He was not rich; he survived on the bare necessities, in frugal obscurity ('οὐδὲ φιλαναλῶτιν'). But even when he achieved the more prominent position that he so desired ('εἰς βίον ἐπὶ μέσον σοβεῖν φιλοῦντα καὶ θεατρικώτερον μετεσκεύασμαι'), he lacked the means to support an appropriate lifestyle, so he still felt himself to be a pauper: 'I am not prepared to take bribes ('τὸ τῆς χειρὸς περὶ τὸν λημματισμὸν ὀκνηρόν'), and I have no aptitude for making money ('οὐδεμία γοῦν μοι πρὸς τὸ χρηματίσασθαι λυσιτέλεια'), so I remain destitute ('γυμνός'), ashamed of my poverty' (fol. 381v).

Gregory airs his poverty at every possible opportunity: his children eat only the simplest fare (fol. 386v); he cannot guarantee his father a dignified old-age (fol. 381v); he had been unable to plant gardens and vineyards, or to dig a well (fol. 380).

This was not all. Gregory's affairs took a turn for the worse. He complains of the fickleness of fate; he berates his colleagues ('τῶν ὁμοδούλων') who stare greedily at the meagre morsels in the hand of Joseph (i.e. Gregory), morsels which he, poor man, has gathered through great toil, grain by grain. And now these colleagues try to grab the fruits of his arduous labour, cramming their own gluttonous gullets ('εἰς τὸν μαργῶντα λαιμόν') (fol. 379). On all sides Gregory feels threatened (fol. 380); a heavy punishment hangs over him ('βαρύ μοι ἐπικεκραμένον ἐπιτίμιον') (fol. 379v).

When this passage was written, Gregory was evidently dependent upon Andronicus Camaterus: 'Because of your love for me, a slave ('δοῦλον'), you descended from your heavens' (fol. 382); 'I shared the fate of slaves ('εἰς δούλων μοῖραν'), I was wretched and low ('ταπεινὸν καὶ χαμαίζηλον'), when you – miracle of miracles! – raised me to the heights' (fol. 379).

The *sebastos* Andronicus Camaterus is quite a prominent figure. In the lemma of Gregory's address he is described as *megas drungarios*. This was a post to which he was appointed between 1161 and 1166. Thus Gregory's first address to him cannot have been written before 1161. Unfortunately, we do not know when

Andronicus Camaterus *ceased* to be *megas drungarios*; only that he apparently still held the post in 1176.[20]

One may suppose, however, that this address was written early in Gregory's career. He was still a young bureaucrat who was anxious to impress his superior that he had an adequate knowledge of his job ('ἀποχρῶσαν ἀθροίσας γνῶσιν πραγμάτων') (fol. 380v). A similar early date is also perhaps implied by Gregory's reference to his father.[21]

One further point may be made in support of this suggestion. In other works Gregory speaks of a serious illness. There is no reference to illness in the first speech to Camaterus (despite the fact that Gregory catalogues his woes whenever the opportunity arises); yet in his second address to the same man he complains of it: he particularly suffered from swollen feet ('τοῦς πόδας οἰδοῦντας'), which rendered him unable to leave his home (fol. 383v).

This reference to illness may provide a vital clue to the date of both the speeches to Andronicus Camaterus. In his work in praise of John the Baptist Gregory recalls the time when he was bed bound ('κλινοπετής') by illness, though still a young man ('ἐξ ἔτι νεάζοντος'); he was cured only by the ardent prayers of a mysterious monk (fol. 430r–v). In a speech to Manuel I Gregory speaks of the same illness: he is weak and confined to bed; he is carried on a stretcher to the emperor, in hope of a cure (*Fontes*, II, p. 184/6–14; cf. also pp. 185/12–17; 189/13–22). The speech to Manuel I can be dated: it was probably delivered early in 1176.

This was not Gregory's only illness. In 1183, when he heard that Basil (not to be confused with Andronicus) Camaterus had been appointed patriarch, Gregory got up from his sick-bed and his corner ('κλίνης', γωνιᾶς') (fol. 250v). He uses the same expression in the letter to the abbot on Antigone, in which he speaks of leaving his 'bed and corner' (fol. 199v).

We conclude that Gregory's second speech to Andronicus

[20] E. L. Vranousis, 'Patmiaca B', *Kharistērion eis A. Orlandon*, II (Athens, 1964), p. 89. He is mentioned as *megas drungarios* by Theodore Balsamon: see E. Miller, 'Poèmes astronomiques de Théodore Prodrome et Jean Camatère', *Notices et extraits des manuscripts de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXIII (1872), p. 42; and by Malaces, pp. 69–70. On Andronicus Camaterus see S. Shestakov, 'Zametki k stikhotvoreniyam codicis Marciani Gr. 524', *VV*, XXIV (1923–6), pp. 50–1; D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), pp. 126–7; J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), pp. 47–8.

[21] cf. Darrouzès, 'Notice', p. 68.

Camaterus was written in about 1176, and that the first was composed earlier, when Gregory was still young.

In the second speech Gregory refers to what seems to have been an important incident in his life. The reference is couched in allegory. Gregory was called to work in somebody's vineyard ('εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀμπελῶνα ἐργάτην') for money ('μισθοῦ'); he took pleasure in the work ('ἄσμενος'), despite its toughness; but at the end of the day he had to leave without the agreed payment ('ἄμισθος καὶ τὸ συμφωνηθὲν δηνάριον') (fol. 384v). This 'admirable service' ('ἡ βελτίστη θητεία') was the cause of his illness (fol. 384): 'The constant hardships of voluntary servitude' ('ἐθελοδουλίας') adorned me with wrinkles' (fol. 383r–v). Gregory complains (prematurely) of the onset of old age (fol. 383).

Elsewhere he again mentions this period of servitude. In his speech to Constantine Angelus he recalls that he had originally been free ('τὴν πρώτην ἐλεύθεροι φῦντες'), but had later become a bought slave and had performed tasks repulsive to a free man, for which he had received derisory payment ('φαυλοτάτης μισθοφορᾶς').[22]

The subject of his bondage also crops up in his letters to his former friends and teachers from the school of rhetoric, Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, Eustathius of Thessalonica and Euthymius Malaces. From these letters it becomes clear that Gregory numbers himself among 'voluntary slaves' ('ἐθελοδούλους') who are deprived of their independence (fol. 401); that he performs his irksome duties for payment ('ἐπὶ μισθῷ') (Mich. Ak. II, p. 401/3–6), which was miserably small ('ἄχρυσα δὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐργασίας παντάπασι καὶ ἀνάργυρα') (fol. 401v); that his work required no mental activity whatsoever, and was leading him into the 'hell of stupidity' (fol. 402); that the incessant labour was weakening his flesh (fol. 400v); that his occupation was despised by all who saw him (Mich. Ak. II, p. 402/5–12; cf. p. 407/8; also Gregory's second letter to Malaces, *E*, fol. 394); that his service involved travel, and periods abroad (fols. 399v, 402v), although he was in the capital from time to time (fol. 392v).

What exactly was this 'voluntary servitude' into which Antiochus had fallen? In all probability, his attempts to climb the ladder

[22] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', pp. 393/13–394/2.

of the imperial bureaucracy were at first unsuccessful, so he entered the service of (or 'commended' himself to) an influential private individual. Though he took this step voluntarily, it was contrary to his ambitions and desires, contrary to his self-image; hence his acute embarrassment in front of his academic acquaintances, his urge to justify himself. He felt that morally (if not actually) he had descended to the level of slaves and hired labourers. As he wrote to Eustathius: 'I have joined the ranks of bought slaves' (fol. 400). This kind of attitude to private service was certainly not universal in Byzantium, especially under the Comneni, when feudal-type relations and institutions became established in many areas of life. Gregory's problem was that he, personally, could not reconcile himself to such relations: he had been brought up to believe that the only dignified service for a free citizen was service to the state, service to the emperor, the imperial administration. It was a bitter blow when he found it necessary to seek employment elsewhere.[23]

One of the letters in which Gregory bemoans his 'voluntary servitude' can be dated with some measure of precision: the letter to Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, who is described in the lemma as *hypertimos* of Athens. Nicholas was *hypertimos* from 1173 to 1178. Consequently Gregory can scarcely have entered private service long before 1173. Moreover, the letter was presumably written before 1176, for by then, as we saw, Gregory was too ill to work.

Thus the course of Gregory's early career may be reconstructed as follows. In about 1160 he was at the patriarchal school, engaged in his own literary pursuits as well as in his studies (it was at this time that he wrote the speech to Luke Chrysoberges and the obituary to Cataphloron). By the end of the 1160s he had left the school, and the world of scholarship, and had entered the civil service. Dissatisfied with his progress, he sought private employment (probably *c.* 1073/4), but he fell ill (*c.* 1175), and was forced to quit.

It is not clear what happened next. There is no news of Gregory until 1181, when he delivered a speech, in the senate, about the recently-deceased emperor Manuel I. 'Formerly', states Gregory in this speech, 'and not very long ago ('οὐ πολὺ πρότερον'), I was a member of this gathering . . . And now I am again in your midst

[23] On the concept of voluntary servitude see A. Kazhdan, 'Odin netochno istolkovannyy passazh v "Istorii" Ioanna Kinnama', *RESEE*, VII (1969), pp. 469–73.

('καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέσοις ἐγώ')' (*Fontes*, II, pp. 193/22–194/3). The natural interpretation is that Gregory had climbed high on the administrative ladder[24] (*after* his illness), had gained a place in the senate, and had subsequently lost it, while Manuel was still alive; and now, after Manuel's death, his position was restored.

For some years after the death of Manuel I power was in the hands of the *protosebastos* Alexius. During Manuel's lifetime Gregory had written a monody on the death of the *protosebastos'* son. Unfortunately this work is highly abstract and rhetorical, and it provides no clue as to the nature of its author's relations with the imperial family. We may conjecture (but not assert) that the *protosebastos* Alexius facilitated Gregory's reinstatement in the senate.

In 1183 Basil Camaterus was elected patriarch. Immediately (fol. 250v), Gregory wrote him a speech: an 'application for slavery' ('δουλογραφίαν') (fol. 251), as he called it.[25]

Basil Camaterus was a devoted follower of Andronicus I Comnenus,[26] and Gregory's speech is a rich source of information about him. Apparently Basil was a 'swimmer in the sea of Hellenic wisdom' ('τὴν ἁλμυρὰν τῆς Ἑλλήνων σοφίας'), who hid his precious pearl deep within himself. He was a rhetor among rhetors, a man to delight both the hearing and the soul (fol. 251v). The late emperor (i.e. Manuel) had loved him, and had entrusted various official duties ('δημόσια λειτουργήματα') to him, and thus he had ascended the ladder of service from the bottom to the very top ('ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω καὶ ὑψηλότερα') (fol. 252).

Basil used to accompany the emperor in his campaigns (fol. 252v), but his chief service was as a diplomat: he travelled to many different countries, where strange languages were spoken ('ἑτεροδιαλέκτοις δὲ καὶ ἀλλογενέσιν') (fol. 252), and by his efforts he brought great gain and glory to the empire of the Rhomaioi, and to the emperor who had sent him; in his distant

[24] Note that in his first address to Andronicus Camaterus Gregory (who was still a fairly obscure bureaucrat) boasts of the high regard in which he is held by senators: 'τῶν τε τὴν σύγκλητον πληρούντων βουλήν' (fol. 380).

[25] Gregory uses the same word to describe his speech to Manuel I (*Fontes*, II, p. 184/22); and in his discourse in praise of John the Baptist, referring to the subjugation of the Bulgarians (fol. 453v).

[26] According to Eustathius, Basil shared Andronicus' opinions and aims entirely (*Esp.*, p. 48/6–11). Nicetas Choniates claims that Basil even gave a written undertaking to do whatever Andronicus might require (Nic. Chon., p. 262/1–6).

journeys to far-off lands he engaged in verbal battles with barbarian princes ('βαρβαραρχοῦσι'), listening and replying, objecting with irrefutable arguments, and finally conquering them by persuasion ('πειθοῖ καταδημαγωγήσας τὸν βάρβαρον') (fol. 252v).

Like the apostle Paul (notes Gregory), Basil enters Rome ('περὶ τὴν πρεσβύτιδα Ῥώμην'), and Rome receives him as Damascus received Paul. The city was governed by an ethnarch, whom Basil, by force of argument, 'in the midst of his ethnarchy' converted into a slave of the emperor. Sadly (for the consistency of Gregory's rhetoric) Basil was soon obliged to apply his cunning to the task of escape, 'soaring over the trap which the hunter had laid for him'. Yet he still contrived to leave with the emperor's gold – a great achievement, if one bears in mind the avarice of the local population (fol. 253).

Gregory's information is confirmed and amplified in a speech to Basil Camaterus by Leo Balianites (also contained in *E*).[27] From this speech it emerges that Basil's parents were among the most prominent members of the senate (fol. 141), and that Basil was a man of great learning, with a profound knowledge of Plato (fol. 143v).

Like Gregory, Leo Balianites records Basil's embassy to Rome, adding that 'thanks to you, two parties ('αἱρέσεις') in Old Rome found peace, for they were cooled by the waters of faith which flowed from you' (fol. 143v).

Gregory implies that Basil's mission ended in failure, and that Basil was obliged to leave Rome in a hurry. Leo mentions Basil's ambassadorial problems rather vaguely, with the excuse that he wants to pass on to another topic. However, he does say that Basil's efforts were rewarded not with praise, but with abuse, and that Basil was thereby forced to go into exile (fol. 144).

Exile seems not to have retarded Basil's career for long, and it was followed by spectacular successes. Basil rose through the ranks of the administration in a variety of posts until he was eventually put in charge of the emperor's finances (fol. 144v). He went on diplomatic missions to Italy and Palestine, where he was welcomed rapturously (fol. 146; fol. 145 is lacking). For a while he held

[27] On Leo, see A. Kazhdan, 'Neizvestnyy vizantiyskiy pisatel' Lev Valianit', *Sredniye Veka*, XXXII (1969), pp. 260ff.; more information comes from John Castamonites: see Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 200.

ecclesiastical and lay offices, and eventually he resigned from the latter and was made patriarch (fol. 146v).

V. Laurent published a seal of a certain patriarch Basil, whom he identified as our Basil Camaterus.[28] But unfortunately the name Basil Camaterus occurs frequently in twelfth-century sources, and it raises problems of identification. Several bearers of the name have been identified with the future patriarch: a Basil Camaterus who participated in an embassy to Antioch in 1160–1;[29] the *protonotarios* Basil Camaterus, owner of a seal;[30] the *protonobilissimos* and *eparchos* of 1166 (who may or may not have been the same man as the *protonotarios*).[31] *Protonotarios* is a diplomatic post, so this man could well have been the Basil Camaterus whom Balianites and Antiochus so admired, but the identification cannot be proved.

Despite Gregory's initial claims, the diplomatic career of (his) Basil Camaterus was not crowned with success. Basil had to endure a harsh buffeting ('σφοδρῷ τινι σάλῳ πειρατηρίου βασανισθείς'), and to face the vicious storms of malice and unpopularity ('αἱ τοῦ φθόνου δριμεῖαι λαίλαπες'), before he finally reached the calm haven of the church. These torments continued for fourteen years ('τὸ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετὲς ἅπαν συναπαρτίζει σοι πειρατήριον') (fol. 253v).

Like Christ, Basil died and was resurrected. He rose again after his wrongful burial ('τοῦ ἀδίκου νεκρώσεως ἐξανάστασιν'). His brilliance had been obscured by the injustices done against him (fol. 256). He suffered a severe winter; but spring arrived, and his dove-like voice sang out once more 'in this divine city' (fol. 257v).

At the end of those fourteen long years ('μετὰ τετρακτὴν ἐτῶν καὶ δεκάδα') Basil reached the third heaven of the church. Rising through the hierarchy, an adornment to each office that he held, he eventually entered the highest paradise of the ecumenical patriarchate (fol. 253v). His promotion was rapid (fol. 257v).

The substance of Gregory's remarks is obscured by his rhetoric, but one may infer that fourteen years before 1183 (i.e. in 1169) Basil

[28] Laurent, *Corpus*, v, no. 25.

[29] G. Stadtmüller, 'Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros', *BZ*, xxxiv (1934), p. 354.

[30] V. Laurent, 'Un sceau inédit du protonotaire Basile Kamatéros', *Byz.*, vi (1931), p. 259.

[31] See Polemis, *The Doukai*, p. 130, n. 10, who reckons that the *protonotarios* and the *protonobilissimos* were different men, and it was the latter who went on to become patriarch; Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès*, p. 48, suggests that neither of these two was the future patriarch; Darrouzès' opinion is accepted by Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel*, p. 393.

Camaterus, who was at the time a diplomat, fell into disfavour with the emperor. Perhaps he was disgraced because of the part he played in negotiations with Rome, which, as it happens, took place conveniently in 1169.[32] Again, we can only speculate.

Gregory tells us about some of Basil's early activities as patriarch. His first move was to prune the clergy, 'so that no barren twig remained on the vine' ('μὴ μένον ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ κλῆμα καὶ ἀκαρποῦν') (fol. 255v). 'The all-encompassing house of the church ('ἡ πανδεχὴς οἰκία τῆς ἐκκλησίας') has been swept clean ('σεσάρωται'); the accumulated debris of injustice has been thrown out' ('βαθὺς τῆς ἀδικίας ἀποτετίνακται φορυτός') (fol. 254v).

Gregory particularly stresses Basil's fairness: 'you do not close the doors; you do not deny access to those who knock; on the contrary, you open all entrances' ('πάσας ἀναζυγοῖς τὰς εἰσαγωγάς'), (fol. 254).

Basil also stripped the church of some of its wealth: no longer was the church decked out in superficial ornament ('ὀθνείοις καὶ περιθέτοις ἔξωθεν κάλλεσιν'); now it stood in all its natural beauty (fol. 255).

These statements supplement the information given by Nicetas Choniates and Eustathius of Thessalonica, both of whom speak of the social and financial reorganization conducted by the usurper Andronicus I. Here we learn that the church was also affected.

In introducing his new measures, Basil Camaterus wanted to enlist the help of Gregory Antiochus: 'I know that you wish me to fight with words in the service of God', writes Gregory ('ἐθέλεις οἶδα στρατολογεῖν με θεῷ'). But the invitation to become a 'holy hoplite' ('τὸν ἱερὸν ὁπλίτην') was declined: 'I am already fully occupied with secular affairs, with the cause of Caesar ('στρατευσάμενος καίσαρι'); I am already overburdened' (fol. 258).

Gregory recommends his son to serve in his place (fol. 258v). And he puts the same proposal, in greater detail, in his letter to the patriarch: his first-born had been ill; the doctors had given up hope, but Gregory had prayed to God and his son had been delivered out of the power of Hades (fol. 385v); now Gregory entrusted him to the heavenly emperor and general, and to the patriarch, the spiritual

[32] See P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, II (Rome, 1957), pp. 172ff.

warlord, the great strategos of the army of God; 'and since I cannot furnish him with a soldier's pay ('εἰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ κατάλληλον ἔχω στρατιωτικὸν προσερανίζειν ὀψώνιον'), I hope that the common provider of sustenance will give him his rations for the campaign ('σιτομετρήσας ἐκποριεῖ')' (fol. 386v).

Thus Gregory exploits the promotion of an acquaintance in order to procure for his son a lucrative church appointment.

The reign of Andronicus I was short. He was deposed in 1185, and before long it was the turn of the patriarch. In 1186 Isaac II forced the removal of Basil Camaterus from office, despite the fact that Basil had performed some useful tasks for him (Nic. Chon., p. 405/23–5). And it seems that Basil's eulogist, Gregory Antiochus, was dismissed at the same time.

Gregory hints at this, very vaguely, in his speech to Constantine Angelus: the emperor (Isaac II), Gregory's second saviour (after God), apparently invited him to re-join the administration.[33] But Gregory excused himself on account of his age and poor health. 'Who but ourselves', he exclaims with an obvious sense of grievance, 'after his release from service, after his assiduous labours have been rewarded with retirement ('τὴν ἀστρατείαν λαβών'), after he has spent a long time away from the battlefield – who but ourselves has thus been forcibly ('βίᾳ') dragged back into line?'[34]

We cannot date Gregory's retirement precisely, but he was probably dismissed by Isaac II. If he had been dismissed by Andronicus I, he would surely have mentioned the fact in this speech, which was delivered in the reign of Andronicus' successor and enemy. But whatever the background to his present plight, he now complains to Constantine that he has no means to support himself, and he asks for Constantine's help and influence.

Our assumption, therefore, is that Gregory 'served Caesar' under Andronicus I, and that he was eased out of his job soon after Isaac II seized power. The hypothesis is not seriously affected by Gregory's subsequent vilification of Andronicus: he calls him 'a filthy, decrepit tyrant',[35] and 'Nebuchadnezzar' (fol. 453). After all, he had to make a living.

[33] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 387/10–11.
[34] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 388/4–6.
[35] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 376/19–20.

Gradually Gregory's position became more secure, as is shown in his letter to Demetrius Tornices.

Demetrius Tornices was a native of Boeotian Thebes.[36] With the twin advantages of an aristocratic background and a first-rate education, he rose quickly in the administration. Under Alexius II he became a judge of the *velum*, but he incurred the displeasure of Andronicus I, and was fortunate to escape with his life (Nic. Chon. 265/3–266/15). When Andronicus was deposed, Demetrius Tornices was appointed custodian of the inkstand (*epi tou kanikleiou*), as is implied in the letter of Michael Choniates to the custodian of the inkstand Demetrius Tornices, where Michael expresses his joy at the success of the 'philanthropic emperor' Isaac II.[37] In a slightly later letter (1185–6), Michael refers to Demetrius as logothete.[38]

But soon afterwards Tornices was again out of favour. Michael Choniates tries to console him in his letters. Inconveniently for us, these letters can only be dated according to their position in the manuscript which preserves them. They are arranged chronologically, and they span the years from the patriarchate of Leontius Theotokites (1189) to the death of Eustathius of Thessalonica (*c.* 1195).[39]

Fortunes change rapidly, and Demetrius' disgrace was short. By 1191 he was logothete of the dromos, and he remained in this post until at least 1199.[40] He died in about 1200, to be replaced in office by his son Constantine.[41]

Demetrius Tornices and Gregory Antiochus were old acquaintances. Two letters of Gregory to Demetrius (in MS Marc. XI. 22) contain conventional avowals of friendship.[42] The third letter (in *E*) is very different in tone. It is a reply to complaints expressed by Demetrius.

The letter cannot satisfactorily be dated on internal evidence.

[36] See his obituary by Euthymius Tornices: J. Darrouzès, 'Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès (1200–1205)', *REB*, XXVI (1968), p. 96/15.

[37] G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome, 1934), pp. 122–3.

[38] Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, p. 124. This is a little puzzling, since the logothete of the dromos at this time was John Ducas: see R. Guilland, 'Les logothètes', *REB*, XXIX (1971), pp. 63–5.

[39] Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, pp. 125–6, who gives the dates as 1190–1 and 1193; for the correct dates see Grumel, *Regestes*, III, p. 180; and above, p. 137.

[40] Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès*, pp. 33–4.

[41] Darrouzès, 'Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès', pp. 106/8–14; 108/6–7.

[42] Darrouzès, 'Notice', p. 75.

Gregory mentions his old age ('ὁ μακρὸς χρόνος'), and his experience ('πεῖρα') (fol. 396), so we may tentatively assume that he wrote it towards the later stages of his life. Since the letter is linked to Demetrius' disgrace, it was probably written during the same period as the consolatory letters of Michael Choniates (i.e. *c.* 1190–5).

Yet the letters of Choniates and Antiochus could hardly be more unlike one another. Choniates tries to comfort his friend Tornices, reminding him of how dangerous it is to come too close to the scorching sun, to Zeus the Thunderer (Mich. Ak. II, p. 79/11–13, 18–20); he assures Tornices that his admiration for him never depended merely on the latter's official status as custodian of the inkstand, *sebastos*, and as a prominent man at court. On the contrary, even now Choniates delights in his friend's wisdom (Mich. Ak. II, p. 85/12–17).

For Antiochus, on the other hand, the main task is to dissociate himself from his out-of-favour friend as quickly and completely as possible. He himself (so he claims) is the more deserving of consolation, for his haven, although safely reached, is awash with waves; he fears he may be wrecked even at his moorings (fol. 395v). The complaints of Tornices are cruel, for they only aggravate further poor Antiochus' wounds (fol. 396).

Antiochus is obviously looking for excuses. He does not deny that his position is comparatively secure. Tornices might reasonably have expected sympathy and support. Yet as the letter continues, so the excuses become more insidious: if one examines the matter, our unity is imperfect ('ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ χωλεῦον εὕρῃ τὸ ἕν'); indeed, how can we be united, when by breeding and education you are immeasurably higher than me (fol. 396)? This elaborate flattery is but a poor disguise for Gregory's fear: he is clearly terrified of being associated with a man who has incurred the displeasure of the emperor, a man who has been struck down by the thunder of Zeus.

By the mid-1190s Gregory had indeed attained a position of security: in a document dated 1196 he is described as *megas drungarios*.[43] He is also accorded this dignity in the titles of many of his works, both late (e.g. the speech to Constantine Angelus, and

[43] *Actes de Lavra*, I (Paris, 1970), no. 68/5.

the homily in praise of John the Baptist) and early (e.g. the epitaph to Cataphloron, the address to Luke Chrysoberges). Naturally Gregory could not have been *megas drungarious* in the 1160s when these early works were written. Nor was he *megas drungarios* when he wrote his address to the logothete Michael Hagiotheodorites (who held office *c.* 1170).[44] And as we have seen, until 1176 the post of *megas drungarios* was occupied by Andronicus Camaterus. Thus the headings in *E* were not originally written by Gregory, but were inserted later.[45] They cannot help to establish precisely when, and in what circumstances, Gregory was appointed *megas drungarios*.

Whatever the chronological details, it is clear that Gregory was back in state service by 1196 – or somewhat earlier, if we are correct in our interpretation of his letter to Demetrius Tornices. But if this is so, then why did he refuse Isaac's original offer? Why did he excuse himself on grounds of age? In 1196 he was no younger than he had been in the reign of Isaac II.

One can only guess at the answers to these questions. Perhaps Isaac II offered him a post which he considered to be offensively junior. Possibly Gregory had been made *megas drungarios* much earlier, in the reign of Andronicus I, but had been forced into retirement (along with Basil Camaterus, his patron) when Isaac purged the administration of Andronicus' supporters; and some time later, when the atmosphere had cooled, Isaac offered him another job, which he refused in pique; and only in the early 1190s (through the agency of Constantine Angelus?) was he restored to his former position. This reconstruction fits the available evidence, but it must remain, of course, purely hypothetical.

The date of Gregory's death is unknown.

The known facts of Gregory's career may be reshuffled in a number of ways. But in any combination they show that he led a restless, troubled life. Despite his fondness for the world of learning, despite his acquaintance with men like Nicholas Cataphloron and Eustathius of Thessalonica, he deserted the sweet garden in which grew the trees of knowledge. He was acutely embarrassed

[44] See Guilland, 'Les logothètes', pp. 61–2.

[45] cf. also their inconsistency with the main text: e.g. the work dedicated to Constantine Apimpithioum is termed a letter ('γράμμα') by Antiochus (fols. 377v, 378v), but is headed 'a homily of consolation' ('λόγος παρηγορητικός') (fol. 377). See also above, p. 132.

when he had to seek private employment, and he longed for a more dignified post in state administration. He served as an imperial secretary, and in the judiciary, and he was eventually appointed to one of the most prominent positions in the bureaucracy. He was a wholly committed civilian bureaucrat, without any leaning towards the military side of Byzantine government: he described himself (albeit somewhat facetiously) as a man whose spear and arrows were his stylus and reed-pens, a man who felt safer with a sheet of flimsy parchment than with a shield and armour; a man unable to endure the rigours of military exercises; a weak and feeble man of straw, easy victim for any gust of wind.[46]

The life of a Byzantine bureaucrat was plagued with uncertainty. Gregory's career had its peaks and its troughs; he received both the favours and the frowns of emperors. Yet his rhetorical gift served him well under different rulers with different styles of government: under the militaristic Manuel I; under the ostentatiously populist Andronicus I; and under Isaac II, restorer of order and legitimacy. When the winds of power changed direction, Gregory, the man of straw, changed direction with them, turning his back on those who had previously enjoyed his admiration or his friendship.

His material support was as precarious as his social status. The terrifying spectre of poverty drove him from the school of rhetoric into the imperial chancery, and then – horror of horrors – into private service. His main problem was to ensure himself sufficient income to maintain all his family: 'Αὐτάρκη πανοικεσίᾳ περιποίησαι τὰ ὀψώνια' – the plea is addressed not to any Byzantine functionary, but to John the Baptist (fol. 453). In speech after speech Gregory flaunts his integrity and selflessness, his inability to accept bribes. As he assures Eustathius 'it is simply not in my nature to grasp for gain' ('τὸ κέρδος συλλεκτεῖν') (fol. 400). Perhaps these protestations are a shade too insistent to be accepted on trust.

On broader issues, Gregory's opinions were honed to the life he chose to lead.

In his speech to Manuel I, which was probably delivered in 1176, he professes to be a champion of equality ('ἰσότης') (*Fontes*, II, p. 187/14). Taking his cue from the church fathers, he declares that

46 Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 168–71, 201–4; cf. the same image in Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 388/11–13.

God created air, water, fire and sun not only for the righteous, but for all sinners (*Fontes*, II, p. 188/7–12).[47] And he elaborates upon this principle in his first homily to Andronicus Camaterus. Apparently the Creator intended His earthly blessings not only for the nobly-born ('εὖ γεγονότι'), not only for those upon whom fortune smiles ('τύχην εἰληχότι περίοπτον'), but equally for men of meaner station ('τῷ δὲ τύχης φαυλοτέρας τελοῦντι'). The Creator bestowed His gifts on everybody ('τοῖς πᾶσι') in equal measure ('ὁμοτίμως'), since all men are made of the same clay ('διὰ τὸ ταὐτὸν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν κεραμείας ὁμότιμοι'). 'You consider every living man to be your co-habitant, for all share one roof, the heavens. And you consider every man to be your eating-companion, for all share one table, the earth, and all partake of the same bread, the same salt ('κοινοῦ ἄρτου καὶ κοινῶν ἁλῶν').' The inequalities that divide men are imaginary ('ταῖς δοκούσαις περὶ τὸν βίον ἀνισότησι') (fol. 382).

Such 'democratic' phraseology was typical and traditional in Christian society. It can be found in the works of many Byzantine authors, and it often bears little specific meaning. But such pronouncements should perhaps be taken rather more seriously when they are uttered during the reign of Manuel I. Of course Gregory does not advocate anything that we would recognize as social or economic equality. He is well aware that God may choose to raise one man up and cast another down, that the sea of life holds an unequal fate ('ἀνίσου τύχης') for those who sail through it (*Fontes*, II, p. 188/12–13).[48] He considers it perfectly natural that a poor man ('πτωχός') should have a lord ('κύριος') to guide him and to chastise him (fol. 380). His own sympathies lie with the lords: the poor are ignorant ('εὐεπιβουλεύτων [for 'εὐεπιβούλων'?] πενήτων ἡ ἀγροικία'); from all sides they enthusiastically ('ὅλοις θυμοῖς') attack *us* ('ἡμῶν καταστρατηγεῖ') (fol. 266).

Gregory has no clear or consistent view of the causes or the sources of his 'imaginary inequality'. At one moment he declares that men's lives move along a fixed course ('τακτοῖς τισι δρόμοις') (fol. 378); at another, he speaks of the tyrannical whims of fate (fol. 379). Yet man must bear all his misfortunes (whatever their origin)

[47] cf., for example, Gregory the Theologian (one of Antiochus' favourite authors), in *PG*, XXXVI, col. 200B.

[48] cf. Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 369/21–2.

patiently, not bending, not flinching (fol. 268). Thorns make the rose's smell sweeter (fol. 379r–v).

So (we are relieved, but not astonished, to discover), Gregory does not demand a radical transformation of the social order. His more modest aim is that the emperor should involve in government not only the highest officials, but also humbler men, like Gregory himself. Great indeed is the sovereign who allows the light of his countenance to shine not only on those who surround his throne, but also on the common man ('τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πολὺν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ταπεινότερον') (*Fontes*, II, p. 187/15–18).

We should again stress that these words were written during the reign of Manuel I, an emperor who relied mainly upon his multitude of relatives, and upon the established aristocracy. Gregory's 'democratic phraseology' sounds almost like a manifesto for Andronicus I, who presented himself as a defender of the poor, a restorer of common justice, a stern opponent of corruption.

Equally out of tune with the ideas promoted by Manuel I is Gregory's sceptical attitude to the army. The army was Manuel's favourite toy, and the object of his most devoted attentions. Yet Gregory treats it with heavy irony. He insists that only superficial observers can praise the lot of a soldier. Such observers see no further than the lionskin, not that it is draped round the body of an ass. They delight in the shaggy mane, blissfully ignorant of the reality it conceals. In fact, the bearers of this splendid ornament toil under heavy burdens, endure beatings, and have to labour at the millstone; they live in eternally blinkered bondage as they trudge and heave, day and night, yet never move forwards, blindfolded lest they should see their own misery.[49]

The power-struggles of the twelfth century were fought between two main social groups: the landowning nobility, and the civilian bureaucrats of the capital. Gregory's preference was firmly for the latter. The cult of the emperor was fostered primarily by the bureaucracy, and Gregory embraced that cult with passionate abandon: you are a god (this to Manuel I), a being without flesh, by nature supernatural, a superhuman man (*Fontes*, II, p. 190/4–5). Gregory's beloved 'equality', when translated into life, emerges as equality of servitude, equality of subjection to the will of the

[49] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 316–26.

emperor. Every man must bend his neck low to the emperor, and must be humble in spirit and speech (*Fontes*, II, p. 190/8–10). A subject, in comparison with the emperor, is as insignificant as a drop of water in a boundless ocean;[50] in the imperial presence he feels a mixture of love and fear, devotion and elation (*Fontes*, II, p. 186/8–9).

One passage contains a revealing digression on freedom of choice. On the surface, one might think, freedom of choice ('γνώμη') is wholly incompatible with tyranny. But in fact they amount to the same thing: freedom of choice derives from the will in man's nature ('ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐθελοντὴς ἐμπέφυκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡ γνώμη'); tyranny forces even the unwilling to accept necessity ('ἡ δ' ἕλκει πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ μὴ ἑκόντας, ἡ τυραννίς'); but the man who picks his own path ('τὸν προαιρούμενον') and the man who accepts tyranny ('τὸν τυραννούμενον') both have to progress in the same direction (fol. 402).

Beside his veneration of imperial omnipotence, Gregory has the greatest respect for the senate. In his youth he used to take pride in the fact that he was well regarded by senators (see above, n. 24); he cannot allow himself to pass over the fact that Cataphloron was a senator (fol. 268); the entire senate wished the logothete Hagiotheodorites well (fol. 201v).

These are not empty commonplaces. The early Comneni neglected and despised the senate (Zon. III, 766/17–19). Zonaras wrote at the time that the senate had declined.[51] By contrast, Andronicus I, in attempting to create at least the illusion of a more broadly-based régime, regularly consulted the senate: he allows it to discuss the marriage of his illegitimate daughter; he informs it when he repeals a law on shore rights ('γερούσιον' not in all MSS, but in some of the older ones); he lets it speak on his behalf when honouring the distinguished civil servant Leo Monasteriotes (Nic. Chon. 260/62–4; 327/69–70; 313/21–2).

Thus the social views of Gregory Antiochus are appropriate and convenient for a man in his position. He can be placed among those in the Byzantine ruling class who linked their own interests to the interests of a centralized bureaucratic state, and who strongly opposed any hint of feudalization. Gregory might well have been

[50] Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', p. 399/3.

[51] *PG*, CXXXVII, col. 488C. For Zonaras' views on the senate, see above, pp. 59–63.

one of those who supported the coup of Andronicus I, though his innate caution apparently persuaded him to fall felicitously ill during Andronicus' actual seizure of power, and to remain indisposed until Basil Camaterus was appointed patriarch.

As a writer, Gregory follows well-established principles of medieval literature. The main function of art, as he conceived it, was to edify. He praised the speeches of Eustathius of Thessalonica mainly for their didactic qualities: those who follow Eustathius' speeches will find in them a reliable guide (fol. 402v). For Gregory, as for most of his contemporaries, the highest authorities and the richest sources of imagery and comparisons remain the church fathers. His style is crammed with commonplaces. He had no objection to repeating precisely the same phrases and images in different works and contexts. Thus in his homily of consolation to the logothete Hagiotheodorites, *and* in his monody on the death of the *protosebastos*' son, he uses identical words to describe the deaths of men who perish at sea, or who are killed by wild beasts (fols. 202, 205v); he repeats (again using the same words) the statement that the deceased has already exchanged his earthly clothes for the garment of angels (*ibid.*). Gregory does not strive for freshness or originality of expression. He is content to recombine familiar clusters of biblical quotations, to create collages of commonplace images qualified by equally commonplace epithets.[52]

Just occasionally, however, Gregory's loquacious conventionality[53] gives way to a more vivid, visual and direct presentation, and Gregory is transformed from a stiff speech-maker into an attentive observer of reality. Even comedy has its place. Gregory tells Eustathius about the hardships of a distant journey: there is not enough to eat or drink; even the bread is baked from husks and is totally indigestible; eating it is like swallowing cobblestones; we experience the agonies of Cronus, who was tricked into eating a stone instead of a child; the fortress of our stomachs is bombarded with stones.[54]

In an earlier letter to Eustathius Gregory gives a lively description (tinged with sarcasm) of the Bulgarian climate, and of the Bulgarian

[52] On Gregory's style, see Bachmann, Dölger, 'Die Rede', pp. 357ff.
[53] For a justification of loquacity, see Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 369–71.
[54] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 90–130.

way of life.[55] Everything Bulgarian offends Gregory's refined Byzantine sensitivity, but his observations are crisp and alert: this corner of the universe seems to have no summer, autumn or spring, but only miserable winter; perpetual clouds, perpetual rain weeping over the barrenness of the land. The natives dress in sheepskin, and wear felt hats. They live in tiny thatched hovels. Demeter never set foot in this place, nor did Dionysus ever visit; which is why there are no fruit-trees and no vines around Serdica. As one travels, no mellifluous birdsong soothes the ear; this is hardly surprising, for there are no woods where birds might sit and chirp, no meadows where they can spread their wings, no vegetation where they can take cover from the heat and from the cloudbursts.

Gregory reserves his bitterest scorn for Bulgarian food: the bread here is made from millet and bran, and is only half baked, on an inexpertly-managed fire, so that it is covered in ash; the black bread of the Bulgarians is fit only for the funeral table.[56] The wine is acid and rots the stomach. The smoked fish is mouldy and fetid, and the fresh[57] fish from the rivers and the lakes is filthy, steeped in slime. But then, what can one expect from lakes? Their waters are only good for frogs and leeches!

In spite of his contempt for all things Bulgarian, Gregory could not wholly avoid noticing the country's most visible asset, its rich herds. But mere abundance is no obstacle for his prejudices: O, how the ear is constantly assaulted by the bleating of sheep, the croaking of goats, the mooing of cows and the grunting of pigs. Milk is amazingly cheap: in Serdica you can buy a whole barrel of it for one drachma. You can buy a basketful of cheese for next to nothing – but it reeks of goat.

Gregory's description of Bulgaria deserves to be cited at some length. Its naturalistic observations, and its bilious subjectivity, are unique in Greek literature of the twelfth century.[58]

[55] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', I, pp. 278–80; cf. the description of Corcyra in a letter of Basil Pediadites, in S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* (Athens, 1882), pp. 48–9.

[56] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 29–32.

[57] 'νεαλῆ' – erroneously rendered by Darrouzès as 'salés': 'Deux lettres', I, p. 283.

[58] On Antiochus' information on the Bulgarian economy and everyday life see G. Cankova, P. Tivčev, 'Novi danni za istoriyata na Sofiyskata oblast prez poslednite desetiletiya na vizantiyskoto vladichestvo', *Izvestiya na Instituta za Istoriya* XIV–XV (1964), pp. 315–24; and 'Novi danni za bita i materialnata kultura na naselenieto v zapadnite bŭlgarski zemi prez XII v.', *Arkheologiya*, VI, 2 (1964), pp. 41–5; on Bulgarian topics – A. P. Kazhdan,

Medieval thought often contains a rather whimsical mixture of spiritual abstraction and naturalistic detail; abnegation of the flesh, combined with an intense interest in the flesh. Gregory's naturalism does not herald some new mode of perception. His letter to Eustathius represents a rare distillation of this naturalistic element, but it is firmly rooted in medieval tradition.

Gregory uses mundane detail to enrich not only his descriptions, but also his imagery. Once more, this practice is not peculiar to him, or to the twelfth century. But Gregory does have his own distinct way of elaborating a comparison: where most authors would use a comparison simply as a kind of descriptive label or qualification, Gregory contrives to make the image interesting and real in its own right, and sometimes to develop it independently. For example, in his monody on the death of the son of the *protosebastos* he speaks of a horse crushing a man like a grape (fol. 204v). Thus far he is well within the limits of commonplace figurative usage: the crudely naturalistic scene is created from components which have no individuality – a man, a horse and a grape *in general*. But in one of his speeches Gregory returns to the same image: he likens a soldier to a man who operates a press: the soldier's horse crushes the enemy with its hooves, which splatter the rider with blood; a soldier is like an angler, as his prey twists and quivers on the end of his harpoon-like blade; a soldier is like a skilled bird-catcher, who traps two or three birds at a time on a willow-branch smeared with an adhesive (*Fontes*, II, pp. 216/20–217/8). Each comparison is expanded almost into an independent scene.

There are people, says Gregory, who do not comprehend the essence of events. They see bread, but they fail to see that which precedes bread: first the earth brought forth thorns and brambles; with great effort these were cleared; then the earth was ploughed, sown and furrowed; the next task was to prevent the seeds from being uncovered and devoured by sharp-nosed creatures; bad weather caused still more worry; and then, finally, came the harvest.[59] When you perceive the world in detail, then objects come alive, and they acquire a character of their own. Again, in the letter

'Grigoriy Antiokh', *VV*, XXVI (1965), pp. 95–8. See also *Fontes Graecae Historiae Bulgaricae*, VII (Sofia, 1968), pp. 264–72 (text and translation).

[59] Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 338–51.

to Eustathius, Gregory revels in his own distaste for all that emanates from Bulgaria: the fruit, the fruit! calloused, sickly and yellow, like prisoners! apples form wrinkled frowns in woven baskets; pears are knocked about and bruised; figs are only available dried, for their sweetness is lost in transport; and the grapes (which are also brought in from distant parts) are little more than pips and skin.[60] A burst pomegranate flaunts its lip-like folds, which reveal a sparkling row of teeth (i.e. the pips), and the voiceless lips lure one to taste the fruit.[61]

In yet another letter to Eustathius Gregory complains of his exhausting work: he is unbearably tired; he has no time to read in the evenings, for sleep creeps over him as he dozes with the book under his arm or under his cheek (fol. 400v). This unread book takes on a life of its own: it is abandoned, covered in a thick layer of cobwebs and dust, a corpse strewn with the ashes of oblivion; cast out of our hearts, it must be freed from its unwanted drapes; it must be raised up and summoned to life (fol. 400).

Books and fruits are given life; animals are endowed with reason: fish (claims Gregory) enjoy a joke at the expense of the fisherman: they prod the float with their noses, so that the hand of their would-be captor trembles in anticipation; or else they swallow the hook, only to spit it out again (Mich. Ak. II, p. 406/1–5). In a letter to Eustathius Gregory speaks of stubborn horses who are unwilling to carry their packs in the hills; strike them or stroke them, their only reply is to rear up on their hind legs and flap their forelegs in the air as if intending to fly; part of the horse stays on the ground, part of it is suspended in the air, as it imagines itself to be the winged Pegasus.[62]

Gregory Antiochus did not exactly break the mould of medieval thought, but he had a highly individual manner, a highly individual perception; and in this we find his unique contribution to the tradition of Byzantine rhetoric. Strangely, his innovative passages are rare, and they almost all appear in his correspondence with Eustathius of Thessalonica. Eustathius, too, was an uncommonly keen and sensitive observer of life. Perhaps Gregory adapted his own style (whether deliberately or quite unconsciously) to match

60 Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', I, ll. 39–50.
61 Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 5–7.
62 Darrouzès, 'Deux lettres', II, ll. 257–78.

the qualities and characteristics of his correspondent. Elsewhere he does little more than assemble clichés and commonplaces, assiduously following aesthetic convention. Clearly this is not because he was incapable of writing otherwise, not because he was unable to view the world directly, through his own eyes (rather than through the eyes of conventional authorities); it is chiefly because Gregory was, by nature and inclination, a man who abominated all kinds of unconventionality. He belonged to the old order, and he wanted to sustain it. And yet he did not mount any active campaign against change. His whole life, like most of his writings, stands as a monument to compromise and conformity.

VI

Nicephorus Chrysoberges and Nicholas Mesarites: a comparative study

One relatively minor incident in Byzantine history – the failed coup of John Comnenus the Fat in A.D. 1200 – is documented in the works of four contemporary rhetors: Nicetas Choniates, Euthymius Tornices, Nicephorus Chrysoberges, and Nicholas Mesarites. All four authors lived through the events; but while three of them provide roughly similar accounts, one, Nicholas Mesarites, stands apart from the rest. In the present study we shall examine the discrepancies between Mesarites' atypical narrative and that of the other three writers. Rather than look in detail at all three 'orthodox' accounts, we shall take one of them, that of Nicephorus Chrysoberges, as their representative.[1]

Mesarites and Chrysoberges do not differ in their basic assessment of John Comnenus' initiative: both of them (and, indeed, Choniates and Tornices) are firmly on the side of the victor, the legitimate ruler, Alexius III Angelus. The differences are not, in the first instance, political, but aesthetic: Mesarites and Chrysoberges have fundamentally different ways of presenting events, of constructing a narrative.

Again, therefore, one faces the vexed problem of variety in Byzantine literature and, by implication, in Byzantine social and aesthetic perception. If two contemporary Byzantine authors differ markedly in their narrative method, in their approach to the task of constructing a text, then one is bound to conclude that there was a measure of variety, perhaps even of division and argument, in Byzantine literary life. And if this is the case, then one has to

[1] The accounts by Choniates and Tornices have already received some measure of scholarly attention: see J. Darrouzès, 'Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès, *REB*, XXVI (1968), pp. 49–72 (esp. p. 51 on the date of this episode); J.-L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin, New York, 1971), esp. pp. 123–7.

re-assess received wisdom on the nature of Byzantine culture, the notion of a monolithic and unchanging 'Byzantinism', of a typically and universally Byzantine mode of thought. Byzantine studies abound with neat models of this supposedly homogeneous Byzantine view of the world. Perhaps we have fallen victims to the Byzantines' own cultural propaganda.

It is not sufficient, however, merely to establish that there was in fact some cultural heterogeneity. This is only the first step. One then has to investigate causes. If it can be shown that Chrysoberges and Mesarites used different methods to convert into narrative the same historical event, then the obvious question is: why? We must stress that the question is not political. It has nothing to do with the political sympathies or affiliations of the authors concerned. Their evaluation of the incident is identical, in that both of them disapprove of John Comnenus' attempted coup, and both of them support Alexius III. The difference between them is subtler, in the realm of literary perception, not political interpretation. One might choose to praise or vilify an emperor or pretender for any number of reasons: out of conviction, or for expediency; the political slant could be adjusted at will. But a writer's method of reconstructing reality is far less susceptible to arbitrary change. Artistic method is more constant than political opinion, for it reflects the writer's feeling of reality itself, rather than his judgement of particular events; it reflects his basic assumptions, the terms of his thought, rather than the results of his reasoning.

It is easier to state the hypothesis than to demonstrate it. We have to look beyond our authors' expressed opinions, and discover the reasons for their forms of expression. Such an inquiry is bound to be somewhat speculative. One can show that Chrysoberges and Mesarites wrote differently: the evidence is plain, on the surface. But a reconstruction of the causes has to be approximate. We start with surveys of the life and works of the two writers individually; then we shall proceed to the comparison.

I. CHRYSOBERGES

The works of Nicephorus Chrysoberges are not all published. There are editions of his progymnasmata (rhetorical exercises), and

of some iambic verses.[2] More important, however, are his speeches. M. Treu published three of them (two to Alexius III and one to Alexius IV)[3] which are essential both to the study of Byzantine political life on the eve of the fourth crusade, and as sources for Byzantine relations with the South Slavs.[4] And Browning has recently published Chrysoberges' address to the patriarch John X Camaterus, written in 1202.[5] Two further speeches (to Constantine Mesopotamites, and to the patriarch Nicetas Muntanes) and one letter (to the bishop of Demetrias) are contained in the manuscript miscellanies Escorial Y-II-10 (*E*) and Vindob. Gr. Phil. 321 (*V*).[6]

The date of Chrysoberges' birth is unknown. A Nicephorus Chrysoberges, *patriarchikos notarios*, appears as a signatory to a synodal decision of 1172, and it has been suggested that this was the same man as our Nicephorus Chrysoberges, and that he was born not later than *c.* 1142.[7] But there are difficulties with this identification. In his eulogy to the patriarch Nicetas Muntanes (1186–9) Chrysoberges speaks of men who had inhabited 'this divine garden of the church' for a long time; they remembered Muntanes' previous achievements, whereas he, Chrysoberges, knew of the patriarch's past only by hearsay (*E*, fol. 24). The eulogy was probably written immediately after Muntanes became patriarch, for its centrepiece is an account of his election.[8] In 1186, therefore, Chrysoberges was still relatively young; or at any rate he was relatively new to patriarchal service.

Chrysoberges came from a noble family, whose members were

[2] F. Widmann, 'Die Progymnasmata des Nikephoros Chrysoberges', *BNJ*, XII (1935–6), pp. 12–25; S. G. Mercati, *Collectanea byzantina*, I (Bari, 1970), pp. 587–94; see Hunger, *Literatur*, II, p. 146.

[3] *Orat.* (see above, list of abbreviations); for a translation of the speech to Alexius IV see C. M. Brand, 'A Byzantine Plan for the Fourth Crusade', *Speculum*, XLIII (1968), pp. 465–72.

[4] See I. Dujčev, *Prouchvaniya vŭkhu bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie* (Sofia, 1945), pp. 91–110.

[5] 'Address' (see list of abbreviations).

[6] See Browning, 'Patriarchal School', pp. 184–5; *idem*, in 'Address', p. 38; Browning suggests that all three speeches in *Orat.* were written for Alexius III, and he gives an erroneous pagination for an 'address to Alexius III of 1203'. In fact this speech was headed 'to the emperor lord Alexius Angelus, son of the glorious emperor lord Isaac Angelus', i.e. Alexius IV, and was delivered on 6 January 1204. See also Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 127–8.

[7] V. N. Beneshevich, *Opisaniye grecheskikh rukopisey monastyrya sv. Ekateriny na Sinaye*, I (St Petersburg, 1911), p. 290; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1125.

[8] These extracts have been published by P. Wirth, 'Die Wahl des Patriarchen Niketas II Muntanes von Konstantinopel', *Oriens Christianus*, XLVI (1962), pp. 124–6.

traditionally employed in the state administration and in the church.[9] His own career began in the reign of Isaac II Angelus. Isaac's most favoured courtier was Constantine Mesopotamites, addressee of a speech by Chrysoberges. In this speech (*E*, fols. 283v–285v) Chrysoberges declares that he himself had been of no account, and that he had never expected conspicuous success, but his benefactor (Mesopotamites) had summoned him by name and had rewarded him royally. At that time Chrysoberges was apparently a regular visitor to the palace, where he was able to see his benefactor. Since he often refers to the fact that Mesopotamites was young, and since he omits to mention Mesopotamites' appointment as metropolitan of Thessalonica (1196/7),[10] or his embassy to Genoa (1188–92),[11] one may assume that this speech was written at about the same time as the encomium to Nicetas Muntanes.

The speeches to Muntanes and Mesopotamites were probably composed early in the reign of Isaac II. Chrysoberges' other works were written somewhat later. Three of them are dated in their titles: the second speech to Alexius III was delivered on a Thursday after the feast of the Baptism in A.M. 6710 (*Orat.*, p. 13/1–4), i.e. probably on 10 January 1202.[12] His speech to the patriarch John X Camaterus was written in the same year.[13] And the speech to Alexius IV is dated January, A.M. 6712 (1204) (*Orat.*, p. 24/1–6).

The date of the first speech to Alexius III is easy to establish. The heading states that it was read at the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, soon after the revolt of John Comnenus the Fat was crushed (*Orat.*, p. 1/1–8). Since the revolt occurred on 31 July 1200, the most likely dates for the speech are 14 September 1200 or 1201.

[9] On bearers of the name Chrysoberges in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see Treu, in *Orat.*, p. 38; also L. Petit, 'Le monastère de Notre Dame de Pitié', *IRAIK*, VI (1900), p. 37/16; N. A. Bees, 'Leon-Manouēl Makros, episkopos Bellas. Kalostipēs mētropolitēs Larisēs. Chrysobergēs mētropolitēs Korinthou', *EEBS*, II (1925), p. 143; n. 1; Laurent, *Corpus*, v, nos. 101, 1521–4; cf. also Chrysoberges, a judge of Melitene, in Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. J. B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), p. 140. Nicephorus Chrysoberges was the nephew of Theodore (Theodosius) Galenus, metropolitan of Sardis: see Mercati, *Collectanea*, nos. 1, 2.

[10] G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome, 1934), p. 251; V. Laurent, 'La succession épiscopale de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle', *BZ*, LVI (1963), p. 286; see also above, p. 137.

[11] Dölger, *Regesten*, II, no. 1583.

[12] On the date see Dujčev, *Prouchvaniya*, p. 91, n. 3.

[13] A.M. 6710, in the fifth indiction-year; the date and the indiction match.

Chrysoberges' rhetorical works thus fall into two distinct groups: the speeches of the late 1180s, and the speeches of 1200–4. Is this division accidental (perhaps the result of chance survival), or does it reflect the vagaries of Chrysoberges' career?

Chrysoberges was *maistor ton rhetoron* at the patriarchal school: he is designated as such in the headings of two of his progymnasmata.[14] His second speech to Alexius III was written soon after the feast of the Baptism, and contains a reference to Christ's baptism in the Jordan (*Orat.*, p. 23/14); to deliver an oration to the emperor on such an occasion was the right and duty of the *maistor ton rhetoron*. In the heading of his first speech to Alexius III Chrysoberges is described as a rhetor (*Orat.*, p. 1/1), and the lemma of his speech to Alexius IV states that it was delivered 'according to the custom of rhetors' at the feast of the Epiphany (also the Baptism) (*Orat.*, p. 24/3). Finally, the speech to the patriarch John Camaterus is called 'rhetorical'. There can be little doubt that Chrysoberges was *maistor ton rhetoron* when he wrote the later group of speeches, between 1200 and 1204.

Browning indicates that Chrysoberges probably held the same post when he wrote the earlier group of speeches, in the patriarchate of Nicetas Muntanes. However, there are a number of serious objections to this suggestion.

In the first place, not one of the sources actually states that Chrysoberges was *maistor ton rhetoron* in the 1180s, whereas he is expressly designated as such in the 1200s. His speech to Nicetas Muntanes is entitled 'λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός' (*E*, fol. 23), and the speech to Mesopotamites is variously headed 'λόγος προσφωνητικὸς ἢ καὶ εὐχαριστήριος', and 'λόγος ἐξιτήριος' (*V*, fol. 260v; *E*, fol. 283v). And in the heading of the speech to Mesopotamites, Chrysoberges is not styled 'rhetor', still less *maistor ton rhetoron*, but plain *didaskalos* – teacher. To be sure, Byzantine terminology was to a certain extent flexible, and one could not deny categorically that the word *didaskalos* might refer to the head of rhetoric. Nevertheless there is no strong reason to interpret it thus.

Secondly, Chrysoberges was not *maistor ton rhetoron* in the 1190s, when the post was occupied by George Tornices. So if we were to

[14] Widmann, 'Die Progymnasmata', p. 15.

accept Browning's suggestion, we would have to presume that Chrysoberges had two terms of office, with a gap in between. That is not impossible: John, brother of Nicholas Mesarites (see below) and Gregory Antiochus[15] held jobs which they lost and then regained. But again, there is no evidence that this was the case for Chrysoberges.

Thirdly, Browning also suggests (tentatively, but without resolving the contradiction) that from 1186 to 1189, during the full period of the patriarchate of Nicetas Muntanes, the office of *maistor ton rhetoron* was actually held by another man: Basil Pediadites, a little-known writer whose works are mostly unpublished.[16] It is highly unlikely that Basil Pediadites and Nicephorus Chrysoberges served in the same job at the same time.

To complicate matters further, the case for Pediadites as *maistor ton rhetoron* is weak (not that this makes the case for Chrysoberges any stronger). Pediadites wrote an encomium to the patriarch Chariton Eugeniotes (1178–9),[17] a speech to the patriarch Nicetas Muntanes, and a speech to an unspecified patriarch. The latter two items are included in *E*. Since the unspecified patriarch is rather oddly described as 'βασιλικώτατος' (*E*, fol. 275), we might guess that his name was Basil, and thus that he was in fact Basil II Camaterus (1183–6). The literary activity of Pediadites therefore spans the 1170s and the 1180s.

Pediadites claims to lead a wandering life, and he longs to find a secure job (fol. 376v). In a later work (a letter to Constantine Stilbes from Corcyra) he recalls his poverty, which was worse than exile.[18] The unnamed patriarch (Basil?) publicly promised him the job of secretary, but when the document ('γραμμάτιον') arrived to confirm the appointment, it turned out that Pediadites was expected to work unpaid (fols. 275v–276). Under Nicetas Muntanes, the brother of Basil Pediadites was given a good post, but Basil himself was overlooked (fol. 376). Eventually he was made metropolitan of Corcyra, and he died *c*. 1219.[19]

[15] See above, pp. 213–14.

[16] Browning, 'Patriarchal School', pp. 20–2; also Hunger, *Literatur*, II, p. 127.

[17] In the Venice manuscript Marc. XI. 31, fol. 291, according to Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 21, n. 1.

[18] S. Lampros, *Kerkyraïka anekdota* (Athens, 1882), p. 49/19–23.

[19] On Pediadites see D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 78–85; Nicol dates his appointment as metropolitan to 1204; Browning, more plausibly, puts it not later than 1202.

Browning identifies with Basil Pediadites the Basil 'ὁ Ἁγιοπάντων' who later became metropolitan of Corcyra. The identification is possible, but not certain. Basil 'ὁ Ἁγιοπάντων' was apparently stripped of his rank as deacon on 24 January 1168 on account of something he wrote.[20] None of Pediadites' speeches mentions that the author had been a deacon, or that he had been in disgrace.

But whatever other posts Basil Pediadites may or may not have held, his speeches give no hint that he was ever *maistor ton rhetoron*. The two speeches in *E* (we had not had access to the encomium to Chariton) contain not official, public eulogies, but private petitions. It is improbable that a public oration on Lazarus Saturday (the day before Palm Sunday) would have included the orator's complaints about his own misfortunes, and his request for a fat subsidy (fol. 376). In all likelihood Basil Pediadites was not *maistor ton rhetoron*; and nor, in the 1180s, was Nicephorus Chrysoberges.

In his letter to the bishop of Demetrias Chrysoberges claims to have flourished only for a short time, to have enjoyed a brief period of prominence before he disappeared back into obscurity; now he puts his trust in God to turn shortage into abundance, weakness into strength (*V*, fol. 263). The reasons for his fall are unclear. He perhaps hints at them when he says that he had striven for advancement but had refused to mimic a migratory animal in the matter of church appointments (*V*, fols. 262v–263). The implication could well be that Chrysoberges had refused to accept the standard retirement-present for a rhetor: a bishopric in the provinces. He admits that he is on the lower rungs of the ladder of ecclesiastical rank, although he considers that, like the daughters of Zelophehad (Numbers 27:7), he deserves a place 'among the sons of Israel' (*V*, fol. 263).

The letter to the bishop of Demetrias is undated. It was sent from Constantinople (fol. 262v). Possibly it was written in the period which divides Chrysoberges' two groups of speeches. At any rate it must have been written before 1204, when (approximately) Chrysoberges succeeded his uncle as metropolitan of Sardis.

[20] Beneshevich, *Opisaniye*, I, p. 280; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1077. The text of the synodal decision (Sinait. 1117, fol. 299r-v) is unpublished; the note in the heading, 'γεγονότος Κερκύρας' is later.

The rough (and in places hypothetical) outline of Chrysoberges' life may thus be traced as follows:

c. 1186: promoted, with the patronage of Constantine Mesopotamites, to the post of *didaskalos* (?); speeches to Mesopotamites and to Nicetas Muntanes.
1190s: disgrace; letter to the bishop of Demetrias.
1200–4: *Maistor ton rhetoron*; speeches to Alexius III, Alexius IV and to John X Camaterus; progymnasmata (?).
c. 1204: metropolitan of Sardis.

Chrysoberges may still have been metropolitan of Sardis in 1213, if he is the Nicephorus whose name appears on a synodal document of that year.[21] If so, it becomes all the more likely that in 1186 he was, as we suggested, still a fairly young man.

In his social and political opinions Chrysoberges tends to follow the traditions and conventions of the Byzantine civilian élite, with its characteristic cult of imperial power. He often repeats the formulaic declaration that the emperor is the sun; the ruler of Byzantium is greater than Caesar, who 'conquered' the armies of Pontus only after he 'came and saw', while Alexius III conquered the rebellious John the Fat simply by giving an order, without troubling to come or to see (*Orat.*, p. 9/18–23; cf. also p. 26/12–30 on Alexius IV). The emperor must be glorified incessantly: to praise the patriarch while passing by the emperor 'with closed lips' would be an offence to the imperial dignity ('Address', p. 49/4–16).

Chrysoberges conveys a highly (and traditionally) vague notion of what kinds of things an emperor is supposed to do. Mercy and valour are the twin qualities with which, as with two hands, the sovereign maintains the empire of the Rhomaioi (*Orat.*, p. 29/24–7; cf. *V*, fol. 246).[22] Great indeed is the emperor's generosity: he achieves less with his double-bladed sword than with the purple ink of his charters, which utterly vanquish the evil of poverty (*Orat.*, p. 30/15–22).

The emperor is the source of all power. A man becomes important (claims Chrysoberges in the speech to Mesopotamites) only when touched by the hand of the emperor. The dignity of a

[21] A. Pavlov, 'Sinodal'naya gramota 1213 goda o brake grecheskogo imperatora s docher'yu armyanskogo knyazya', *VV*, IV (1897), p. 166/4; cf. Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 185.

[22] On imperial virtues, and the relatively recent addition of 'valour', see above, pp. 24–43.

man who is not in imperial service is like a precious stone hidden from view: the blessings are withheld, concealed; without light there is no sparkle; only the stone that has been set in the emperor's crown can be seen from afar (*E*, fol. 284). Consequently the most noble virtue in a subject is fidelity to the emperor: not the superficial fidelity of a servant, which is mere bodily obedience, and to which the soul may remain uncommitted; fidelity must be a quality of the inner man, like the love felt by one's lord, or by the God-loving emperor (fol. 284v).

In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the Byzantine ruling class tried to adapt to its own needs the western concept of *fides*, the fealty of a vassal. The traditional Byzantine right of usurpation, the assumption that God favoured a successful coup, was increasingly regarded as undesirable and unnecessary. Chrysoberges' contemporary, Nicetas Choniates, bitterly condemned the Byzantines who perpetually intrigued against their lords, while the Latins remained loyal even to a king who had been taken captive (Nic. Chon., p. 642/77–85; cf. pp. 234/86–8; 564/7–8). In the eleventh century, by contrast, Cecaumenus had recommended loyalty for reasons of expedience, not principle: the ruler in Constantinople normally defeated rebels, therefore it was sensible to support him (Cec., p. 268/8–13). This is precisely that 'bodily' obedience, that fidelity of servants, which Chrysoberges, a century or so later, deemed unsatisfactory. A ruler and his subject, according to Chrysoberges, should be joined by an intimate, mystical bond, by a sense of inner compulsion.

The positive concept of 'autocracy' or 'imperial power' has its negative counterpart in the concept of 'tyranny'. For Chrysoberges tyranny implies not the improper exercise of power (a kind of perverted monarchy), but its improper usurpation: Alexius III is the *basileus*; John Comnenus is a tyrant, who launches a tyrannical attempt at rebellion (*Orat.*, p. 1/20–2). Chrysoberges reinterprets his classical models accordingly: he likens Alexius to the tyrant-slayers Harmodius and Aristogiton who 'crushed the tyranny with their own hands, for which deed they were honoured and glorified in public monuments' (*Orat.*, p. 4/26–9). Thus the Byzantine rhetor turns assassins into preservers of the *status quo*.

Chrysoberges expresses social views which match his politics. Fate extends different (or, as he puts it, 'unequal') hands to different

people: to some fate offers its right hand filled with generous gifts; to others its empty, left hand ('Address', p. 55/10–15). And the author has no great sympathy for these unfortunates: how can one expect good sense from the crowd? (*Orat.*, p. 8/17–18).

But Chrysoberges does not confuse inequality of circumstances with inequality of substance or estate: all are equal before the power of the emperor (he writes to Mesopotamites), and the emperor casts his benign gaze over the high and the low alike; just as the sun shines equally on the good and the bad, so the representative of power treats rich and poor, great and humble, without differentiation (*E*, fol. 284r–v). In one of his progymnasmata Chrysoberges reworks Aesop's fable of the reed and the olive-tree: the reed accuses the tree of obstinacy, of being unwilling to bend to circumstances; the olive-tree is proud of its strength, and it despises the pliant reed which turns away from all conflict; but along comes a strong wind; the reed bows to its force and remains intact, while the olive-tree refuses to bend and is soon snapped.[23] The old tale acquires new meaning in Byzantine conditions, where it is used to justify universal obedience to authority, the Byzantine equality of servitude.

As one might expect, Chrysoberges measures nobility by its degree of proximity to the throne. He speaks much of John Camaterus' noble lineage: John's kin, the pillars supporting the palace of his noble origin, was close to emperors, the golden doorposts of 'this' palace ('Address', p. 49/38–43).

Unlike Theodore Prodromus or Eustathius of Thessalonica (but like Gregory Antiochus), Chrysoberges is unimpressed by the glamour of war. Of course he mentions the emperor's campaigns and victories, but he avoids descriptions of battles. 'The towns and fortresses, and all whom John Spyridonaces had cheated into supporting him, all instantly accepted you (Alexius III) as emperor, not just because of your purple boots, but also because that deceiver of peoples was unable to withstand your presence' (*Orat.*, p. 18/20–4). Thus imperial symbols play their part in victory, besides imperial armies. Alexius IV, the equal of Alexander (*Orat.*,

[23] Widmann, 'Die Progymnasmata', p. 16/25–40; as Widmann observes (p. 247), Chrysoberges' version represents a substantial alteration of Aesop, in whose tale the reed does not argue at all, but merely listens to the reproaches of the proud tree. The story was popular in twelfth-century Byzantium: cf. Valk, III, p. 175/1–7, where Eustathius makes a similar point.

p. 24/20–1), spends his time hunting, and doing gymnastic exercises (*Orat.*, p. 31/22–4); no mention of military exercises, either here or in Chrysoberges' account of the young Mesopotamites. And when he does mention weapons, the context is usually figurative: 'the armour of light', and 'the sword of the spirit' helped the patriarch Nicetas Muntanes to defeat foreigners (*E*, fol. 25). The patriarch John Camaterus hurls at barbarians the 'deadly spear' of his tongue ('Address', pp. 59/43–60/; the reference is to John's letters to pope Innocent III).[24]

Evidently Chrysoberges did not share the ideals of the military aristocracy, which had once thronged around the throne of the Comneni. Proximity to the emperor may have been his only criterion of nobility, but the character of the emperor's entourage had changed. Unlike their counterparts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, courtiers in the twelfth century constituted a distinct caste, and entry was increasingly restricted to particular families. Upstarts, who in previous centuries had been quite naturally accepted within the Byzantine élite, were now viewed with distaste and contempt.

Such, in principle, was the opinion of Chrysoberges. In practice, views were adaptable: Chrysoberges enthusiastically welcomes the 'miraculous' election of Nicetas Muntanes as patriarch: at the election Muntanes' name was inscribed in the 'book of God's commands', and Muntanes was 'hierarch by God's choice' (*E*, fol. 25). But the ideal, nevertheless, was to proceed in orderly fashion, up the ladder of service. John Camaterus became prominent 'not recently'; he already had the glory of good and noble parentage; he is resplendent in church not only because of his patriarchal rank; he did not rise suddenly, like some obscure people who manage to attract attention and rise from insignificance to celebrity; no, John previously served in various ecclesiastical posts, and only then did he achieve the highest office; 'he ascended each rung in turn' ('Address', p. 54/13–19, 34–5).

Predictably, Chrysoberges is an admirer of 'the great community of our holy senate' ('Address', p. 54/37–8).[25]

[24] The Greek texts are in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1302, fols. 270v–275, and are unpublished; see Grumel, *Regestes*, nos. 1194, 1196; they are dated February 1199 and spring 1200. For the Latin text of the first letter, see Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 664–5; further on this correspondence see Browning, in 'Address', pp. 41–2.

[25] Reading, 'μεγάλῃ συντελείᾳ', dat. agreeing with 'τῇ συγκλήτῳ'.

On issues of ethical principle Chrysoberges says little, but he does occasionally hint at opinions close to those of Symeon the Theologian.[26] Like Symeon he implies that the elect are permitted – even obliged – to sever family ties: the wonderful Nicetas Muntanes ignored his kin and spurned any closeness to his father; he broke with his family in order to devote himself fully to service in St Sophia (*E*, fol. 24). But unlike Symeon, Chrysoberges does not condemn ties of friendship: he himself hopes to receive the life-giving flowers from the garden of bright friendship (*V*, fol. 262v).

Like Symeon, Chrysoberges praises the virtues of humility and modesty. He delights in the modesty of Mesopotamites: most men in his position would have become arrogant, would have lost touch with humanity, would have disdained even to look at their fellow-men (*E*, fol. 284). Modesty extends to self-appreciation: my speech is simple and artless (*Orat.*, p. 23/10–11). Chrysoberges excuses himself for omitting the details of John Camaterus' debate with the Latins: I lack both the time and the sophistic (i.e. rhetorical) power ('Address', p. 61/17–19).

Yet for all his vaunted love of meekness and fair dealing (*Orat.*, p. 22/29), Chrysoberges can be bloodthirsty. He revels in describing how the rebels' heads fell at the hooves of the victors' horses (*Orat.*, pp. 4/24–6; 18/1–2).

Chrysoberges differs from Symeon in that he has a high regard for human knowledge, earthly wisdom; he mentions approvingly that John Camaterus was familiar not only with the most intricate complexities of theology, but also with Hellenic learning – not to be confused with the barbarous 'Hellenism' which derives from woolly thinking ('Address', pp. 50/16–20; 55/31). John was trained in all the cultured disciplines: from elementary grammar he progressed to the heights of rhetoric, philosophy and dialectic ('Address', pp. 51/38–52/1).[27]

Symeon was no Latin-hater. Chrysoberges, who lived through the fourth crusade and all that led up to it, detested Latins. He praises John Camaterus for arguing with them ('Address',

[26] On the social views of Symeon the Theologian see A. Kazhdan, 'Predvaritel'nyye zamechaniya o mirovozzrenii vizantiyskogo mistika X-XI vv. Simeona', *BS*, XXVIII (1967), pp. 1–38.

[27] 'αἱ μαθηματικαὶ ὑποθέσεις' seems to mean not 'mathematics', but 'scholarly disciplines'; cf. 'οἱ ἀπὸ μαθημάτων', p. 52/3.

p. 58/22); he faults Italians for their arrogance and their vanity;[28] he objects to the idea of papal supremacy over the church, whose true head is Christ ('Address', p. 61/1–6).

The speech to Alexius IV is dominated by the Italian problem. But in 1204 Chrysoberges was not so keen to condemn Latins as he had been in 1202. Now he tried to depict them as servants of the emperor who were able to sail up to the walls of Constantinople thanks to the invitation of Alexius IV; previously the Doge of Venice had tried to cross the Ionian sea, but his ships had been smashed by a storm; the Latins managed a successful voyage only after they had sworn an oath of loyalty ('τὰ δουλόσυνα') to Alexius; and now the smooth surface of the sea stretches out flat before their ships; dolphins and whales leap from the water in greeting; gentle zephyrs waft across the prow (*Orat.*, pp. 26/24–28/11). Still, Chrysoberges does realize that such servants can be dangerous, and he longs for the day when the rays of the sun-emperor will disperse this 'alien fog' (*Orat.*, p. 29/20–2).

2. MESARITES

The extant works of Nicholas Mesarites are mostly to be found in two manuscripts in the Ambrosian library: F.96 sup. and F.93 sup. which originally constituted a single codex, copied in the twelfth century.[29] A complete edition was planned by August Heisenberg, but his project was never finished. Some works are still unpublished. Nevertheless, that which has appeared in print provides far more abundant information than do the extant speeches of Chrysoberges.

The main works of Mesarites are:

1 A description of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.[30]

[28] cf. Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 185, n.1.

[29] See A. Heisenberg, *Analecta* (Munich, 1901), pp. 19–39; E. Martini, D. Bassi, 'Un codice di Niccolò Mesarita', *Rendiconti dell' Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belli arti di Napoli* (1903), pp. 1–14; *idem, Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, I (Milan, 1906), pp. 405–8 (appendices 6–13); on the sixteenth-century MS Vindob. Phil. 107, see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I (Vienna, 1961), pp. 212–13.

[30] A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, II (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 9–96; Downey (see abbreviations); see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 181–2.

2 A speech on the quelling of the revolt of John Comnenus.[31]
3 A funeral oration on the author's brother, John Mesarites.[32]
4 A description of a journey from Constantinople to Nicaea in 1208.[33]
5 A speech about the negotiations with cardinal Pelagius in Constantinople.[34]

Mesarites also wrote a number of letters, other speeches, notes, hagiographical works, and possibly a poem about the apostles Peter and Paul.[35] In addition, there are a few synodal documents issued by him.[36]

Information on his life comes chiefly from his works. He was born into a family of educated bureaucrats, who held office not in the very highest levels of the administration, but among the middle rank of state and ecclesiastical officials who looked after the day-to-day operations of Byzantine policy.

Nicholas' father, Constantine Mesarites, had many children, at least two of whom achieved some fame: his seventh child, John; and his eighth, Nicholas (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 22/3–10).

The scattered fragments of information on both brothers were assembled by Heisenberg, who reconstructed the main features of their biographies. John was born in 1161–2, and at an early age, with the patronage of Andronicus I, he became a rhetor, and was appointed to teach the Psalter at the patriarchal school (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 33/12–14). After Andronicus' demise, John left Constantinople and entered a monastery. Not until at least 1198, in the reign of Alexius III, did he return to favour at court, and to his

31 *Palastrevolution* (see abbreviations); German translation by F. Grabler, *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne, 1958), pp. 271–316; see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 127.

32 *Neue Quellen*, I (see abbreviations); see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 138.

33 *Neue Quellen*, II, pp. 35–46; see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 149, 207.

34 *Neue Quellen*, III; cf. G. Spiteris, 'I dialoghi di Nicolas Mesarites coi Latini: opera storica o finzione letteraria?', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, CCIV (1977), who argues that the work is not a first-hand account, but a compilation of previous literary disputes.

35 See *Neue Quellen*, II; Arseniy, *Nikolaya Gidruntskogo (Otrantskogo), igumena grecheskogo monastyrya v Kazulakh, tri zapisi o sobesedovaniyakh grekov s latynyanami po povodu raznostey v vere i obychayakh tserkovnykh* (Novgorod, 1896); A. Heisenberg, 'Die Modestoslegende des Mesarites', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der byzantinischen Literatur* (Bonn, Leipzig, 1922); G. Schirò, 'Un poemetto bizantino inedito per gli apostoli Pietro e Paolo', *Atti dell' Instituto Veneto di Sc. Lett. ed. Arti*, CXV (1956–7), *Cl. di sc. morali e lett.*, p. 199.

36 E. Kurtz, 'Tri sinodal'nykh gramoty mitropolita Efesskogo Nikolaya Mesarita', *VV*, XII (1906), pp. 99–111.

old job.[37] He was still there in 1204. He died on 5 February 1207.

Nicholas was slightly younger than John, and was probably born in 1163 or 1164. Nothing is known about the early stages of his career.[38] By 1200 he held important ecclesiastical posts: 'ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων' at St Sophia, and *skeuophylax* (sacristan) at the church of the Virgin of Pharos, which stood next to the imperial apartments in the Great Palace.[39] Nicholas remained in Constantinople after its capture by the crusaders in 1204, and for a while he served as a link between the Greek clergy in the city and the court at Nicaea. Together with his brother John he participated in disputes with the Latin clergy. After John's death he moved to Nicaea, where he was appointed patriarchal *referendarios*, then metropolitan of Ephesus and exarch of all Asia.[40] In 1214 he headed an embassy to Constantinople for talks with cardinal Pelagius, but he apparently displeased the Nicaean authorities by being over-compliant (*Neue Quellen*, III, p. 47/1–10). We do not know when he died.

Politically Nicholas Mesarites held views very similar to those of Nicephorus Chrysoberges. Both men supported Alexius III against John Comnenus. Both praised Alexius' wife Euphrosyne. Both admired the patriarch John X Camaterus; indeed, they both singled out for special mention the same quality: John's mastery of religious and secular learning (Downey, XLIII, 5). One might note, by contrast, the attitude of Nicetas Choniates, who mocks the patriarch and derides his ignorance.[41] Unlike most writers of the period, neither Chrysoberges nor Mesarites particularly objects to Andronicus I. Chrysoberges does not so much as mention Andronicus' tyranny, though in his speech to Nicetas Muntanes criticism of Andronicus would have been perfectly appropriate, had he cared to express any. Mesarites does call Andronicus a harsh and obdurate ruler, fearsome, like a lion to behold (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 33/9, 23–5). Heisenberg interprets this as an expression of hatred

[37] Browning, 'Patriarchal School', p. 11.

[38] There is a seal of a Nicholas Mesarites, but it provides no indication of title or office: see N. Bees, 'Die Bleisiegel des Arethas von Kaisareia und des Nikolaos Mesarites von Ephesus', *BNJ*, III (1922), p. 162.

[39] On this church see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), pp. 241–5.

[40] He is attested in this post in October 1213: see A. Pavlov, 'Sinodal'naya gramota 1213 goda', p. 166/2; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1214; he may have been appointed a year or two earlier: see *Neue Quellen*, III, p. 61.

[41] Nic. Chon. *Orat et ep.*, p. 68/85; Choniates wrote this in 1198: see van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen*, pp. 114–15.

for Andronicus (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 6). Heisenberg is incorrect: in the first place, Mesarites' language is far more restrained than that of most other contemporary writers (he uses only the epithets 'βαρύς', 'δύσκολος', 'φοβερός'); and in the second place Mesarites readily admits that his brother John had enjoyed Andronicus' patronage and support. Quite possibly the family of Mesarites had been close to Andronicus, and it was this association which forced John to flee to a monastery at the accession of Isaac Angelus; during Isaac's reign the family stayed in the background, and it returned to prominence only when Alexius III came to power. We recall that the career of another supporter of Andronicus, Gregory Antiochus, followed a strikingly similar pattern.[42]

The expressed social views of Nicholas Mesarites are sparse, but nonetheless coherent. The common crowd is noisy, ignorant and inconsiderate (Downey, XLI, 3–4). His idea of the good life is to serve the emperor, to copy out his speeches, to enjoy the respect of civil servants, senators and the clergy. Happy is the man who neither frequents the houses of magnates nor accepts money from their hands, but who has been granted the right to eat at the emperor's table and to receive rich clothing from the imperial coffers (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 27/10–19). Like Gregory Antiochus, Mesarites draws a clear distinction between imperial service and private employment: only imperial service is fit for a free man. Chrysoberges would have agreed.

We saw that Chrysoberges showed no interest in military affairs. Mesarites expresses outright distaste for soldiery ('τὸ στρατιωτικόν'). Commenting on the story that the soldiers at Christ's tomb accepted a bribe (Matth. 28: 12–15), he notes that soldiers are 'for the most part wont to be corrupted by money' (Downey, XXX, 3).[43]

Mesarites has a high regard for monks. Monks are without flesh, almost without blood; they lack avarice; they carry no purses or moneybags (cf. Luke, 10: 4); they dress in hair-shirts secured with leather belts, all for the mortification of the flesh (*Neue Quellen*, III, p. 23/23–7). In sharp contrast to Eustathius of Thessalonica[44]

[42] See above pp. 211–14.

[43] There is no evidence to support Heisenberg's suggestion that this passage was lifted from conventional school exercises: see Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche*, p. 66, n. 1.

[44] See above, pp. 150–3.

Mesarites asserts that monks are enormously industrious: most of them put their hands to the plough and to the hoe, tend their own vines, treat and cut their own leather, and toil with hammer, tongs and anvil (*Neue Quellen*, III, pp. 24/31–25/1).

Mesarites is attracted to the monastic ideal no less than Chrysoberges. In his account of the life of his brother John he often speaks of John's desire to escape from worldly vanity and temptation, of his indifference to material pleasures, of his eremitic existence (*Neue Quellen*, I, pp. 26/10–16; 34/2–3; 34/33–35/2). We should not be distracted (he writes elsewhere) by sweetness, beauty, abundance, or the enjoyment of youth; we spend our riches for the sake of the Lord, and we lend unto the Lord (cf. Proverbs, 29: 17) so that in return we may see the kingdom of heaven (*Neue Quellen*, III, p. 52/19–23).

He is interested in mystical experience. Like Symeon the Theologian, Mesarites calls on man to close the eyes of the senses and to avoid the sight of evil, to open the vision of the mind so as to perceive the inner sorrow and tears of the heart (*Neue Quellen*, III, p. 50/22–6). Like Symeon he uses erotic imagery with reference to the Divinity (Downey, XIV, 2). And like Symeon he values simplicity above subtlety, and he is fulsome (if conventional) in his avowals of his own inadequacy (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 42/12–13; III, pp. 15/8–13; 16/34).

The social attitudes of Mesarites are therefore similar to those of Chrysoberges, and quite unlike those of Eustathius of Thessalonica. He praises monasticism and life at court, broadly following the principles laid down by Symeon the Theologian. But on certain issues Mesarites parts company with Symeon; so did Chrysoberges, but in the case of Mesarites the disagreement is more emphatic.

Symeon kept his links not only with the world of monasticism and the world of the imperial court, but also with the life of the city's traders and artisans. In his time there was perhaps still some contact, some form of alliance or some sense of common purpose, between the nobles and the townspeople of Constantinople. Mesarites, on the other hand, delights not in the urban trades and professions, but (and on this point he is closer to Eustathius) in subsistence from the land: how admirable that the church of the Holy Apostles produces bread from its own fields, so that it need

fear neither foreign attack nor storms at sea nor the malice of pirates nor the guile of sailors![45]

Mesarites also shares Eustathius' respect for learning. He has left a detailed description of the school at the church of the Holy Apostles, with its departments of grammar, arithmetic and music, and its classes in medicine (Downey, VIII–XI). He boasts of his brother's talent for schedography, and for composing iambics, of his ability to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies, and of his knowledge of rhetoric and geometry (*Neue Quellen*, I, pp. 28/30–29/2; 29/28; 32/11).

Yet Mesarites dislikes pedantry or mere erudition. He has an almost humanistic attitude both to the process of learning and to its results. Thus he abhors the brutality of the teachers at the school of arithmetic (Downey, X, 1–2). And he even derides that ultra-traditional product of Byzantine learning, the 'quotational' method of argument: he scoffs at his opponents' attempts to scare him as they entrench themselves in the fortress of patristic quotation; better to abandon prefabricated structures and to rely on the power of reason (*Neue Quellen*, III, pp. 27/12–16; 46/9–12).

Other opinions which Mesarites holds in common with Eustathius are: his approval of hard work (Downey, VII, 5); and his condemnation of hypocrites who, in the guise of sincere friends, conceal the envy, malice, anger and darkness in their hearts (Downey, XII, 13). Mesarites cannot match the polemical vigour of Eustathius' tirades against hypocrisy, but the underlying sentiment is the same.

On the issue of the family Mesarites' position is somewhat ambiguous. He praises his brother John (just as Chrysoberges had praised Nicetas Muntanes) for abandoning the family: John not only cast off his rich clothing; not only did he refuse his father's land; but he also left his father's house and cut himself off from his kin; John declared (as Symeon might have done) that the Lord had commanded him not to set his mother and father above God (*Neue Quellen*, I, pp. 28/21–2; 34/4–7). Yet Nicholas himself was a devoted family-man. He was proud of the achievements of his brother. And he took the trouble to ensure that his mother's

[45] Downey, IV, 2. Chrysoberges similarly disapproves of 'τοῖς θαλαττοπλάγκτοις καὶ θαλασσοβίοις ἐνεδρεύταις'(*V*, fol. 263).

remains were transferred to a fitting place of rest, the tomb which his father had erected (*Neue Quellen*, III, pp. 26/30–27/5).

He is equally ambiguous towards the Latins. On the one hand the Latin barbarians are thieves, robbers and cheats, and must be vanquished in a holy war (*Palastrevolution*, pp. 34/21–2; 36/34–7). But on the other hand he asserts, in words which he ascribes to Manuel I, that the Byzantines are peace-loving and have no desire to bear arms (*Neue Quellen*, I, pp. 25/26–26/1).

He was a regular participant in disputes with the Latins; he led the delegation of Byzantine clerics in their dispute with the Latin patriarch Thomas Morosini (*Neue Quellen*, II, p. 15/1–8). He argued, like Chrysoberges, and indeed like most Byzantine theologians, that the unity of the Trinity was undermined by the Latins, who confused the qualities of its hypostaseis (*Neue Quellen*, III, p. 36/23–5). Holy Writ provided no basis for the Latins' attempts to establish within the Trinity degrees of relationships, no basis for the attempt to project onto the Trinity a system of vassal-like subordination as in the hierarchical order king: general: soldier in human society.[46]

Nevertheless, Mesarites' attitude to the Latins was not rigid. His description of his entry into Latin Constantinople exudes a spirit of tolerance: he was received with solemn dignity; his interpreter (Nicholas of Otranto) was an old acquaintance; Pelagius embraced him and seated him in a place of appropriate honour (*Neue Quellen*, III, pp. 20/21; 22/2–6). After his return to Nicaea Mesarites fell out of favour, probably because he was adjudged to have treated the Latins too softly. In short, Mesarites made no theological or political concessions to the Latins, but he tried at the same time to establish a workable *modus vivendi* with them.

3. CHRYSOBERGES AND MESARITES

The speech by Nicephorus Chrysoberges on the revolt of John Comnenus is a typical example of Byzantine rhetoric. Characteristically, such rhetoric seeks as far as possible to 'deconcretize' reality,

[46] N. Festa, 'Niceta di Maronea e i suoi dialoghi sulla processione dello Spirito Santo', *Bessarione*, ser. 3, IX (1912), p. 99/19–21. Note also Mesarites' argument with Michael Autorianus (a friend of Eustathius), in which he strongly emphasizes the divinity of the second Person of the Trinity (*Neue Quellen*, III, p. 14/31–3).

to substitute the abstract and the universal for the particular and the local, and thus to transcend the deceptive multiplicity of perceived phenomena, and to convey the inner meaning, the unchanging Idea, and timeless essence of events.[47] Chrysoberges thus strips his narrative of all that is local and individual, of all that might indicate when, where, and precisely how the events occurred. His main purpose is to depict the triumph of good over evil, and he endlessly restates and illustrates his theme with parallels from the Bible and from the classical tradition. Actual time and space are dissolved in moral generalities.

The main outline of the speech is as follows. The emperor ought to be rewarded for tyrannicide (such rewards were normally given in antiquity). God made the emperor merciful, but the conspirators incurred his wrath. The episode merits the attention of great writers. Following up this point Chrysoberges digresses with a literary interlude, a dispute between the allegorical personages of Eloquence ('Λόγος') and Time ('Χρόνος'). Eloquence is the plaintiff, Time the respondent. Previously (says Eloquence) Time had produced tyrannicides and men of Ares, and Eloquence had produced glorious orators to praise Time's heroes. But no longer. Time objects: look at the emperors who now make Time grow young again! The discussion ends when Eloquence observes that writers of old, like Thucydides and Xenophon, had already provided a full description of 'this brave man' (i.e. the emperor): of his eyes, his speech, his hands, his calves, his ankles and other parts. This comment nicely illustrates the dissolution of time in Chrysoberges' rhetoric: the image of Alexius III, the essence of Alexius III, had existed and had been recorded long before Alexius actually put in his appearance in linear time.

The end of the digression leads Chrysoberges back to the emperor, whose praise he now resumes: the emperor is peace-loving; his exertions turned civil war into peace. Then Chrysoberges pays equally generalized compliments to the empress (Euphrosyne), and to the *hypostrategos* who bears the same name as

[47] Byzantine rhetoric is usually discussed with regard to its mimesis of classical models: see e.g. Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 65–74; Beck, *Jahrtausend*, pp. 152–62. 'Deconcretization' is a consequence (and a cause) of mimesis. On aspects of it see e.g. G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine* (Uppsala, 1962), pp. 14–15; C. Mango, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror* (Oxford, 1975); S. V. Polyakova, *Iz istorii vizantiyskogo romana* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 90–8.

the emperor (i.e. Alexius Palaeologus): with the guidance of his sovereign this *hypostrategos* saved the city, like Harmodius and Aristogiton.

After a few words on the emperor's gentleness, Chrysoberges turns to the villains, whom he depicts no less conventionally: bloodthirsty and cunning, they pick as their leader a weak man with a taste for astrology. Never (except in the title) does Chrysoberges mention John Comnenus by name; even the taste for astrology is a conventional vice, not necessarily an attribute of the real John Comnenus. John's fall is shown in lingering detail: like a mighty cedar of Lebanon, inflated by the breath of his supporters, he crashed to the ground, hacked by your hands and by the axes brandished against him;[48] an Empedoclean monster,[49] he perished by your swords.

Chrysoberges' comparisons are not designed to be consistent or natural. A cedar cannot be 'inflated' ('φυσώμενος'). The comparisons indicate not a literal likeness, but an identity of certain essential qualities: the cedar is 'inflated' because John Comnenus is fat, puffed-up. John's corpulence is the only concrete feature in Chrysoberges' description of him (Chrysoberges returns to it often). But even this corpulence is presented not as a visible, physical quality, but more as a kind of abstract definition, a deconcretized image.

To the cedar of Lebanon and the Empedoclean monster Chrysoberges adds another image: he recalls the story of the apes who, as they were about to choose their king, were surrounded and captured by hunters.[50] Instead of clarifying the picture of John Comnenus, all three comparisons lead the reader further and further into abstraction. What, in the end, do we learn about John? That he was a puffed-up monster, an ape, and that he crashed to

[48] The words 'ὑπὸ κραδανθεῖσι κατ' ἐκείνου πελέκασιν' perhaps contain a reference to the Anglo-Varangian guard, which was armed with battle-axes. Mesarites calls Alexius' troops in this incident 'πελεκηφόροι', and also 'εὐσεβέστεροι' (*Palastrevolution*, p. 48/20); were they Orthodox?

[49] cf. Empedocles, *Poema fisico e lustrale*, ed. C. Gallovotti (Verona, 1975), frag. 7/5–11.

[50] Chrysoberges also refers to ancient myths in his second speech to Alexius III (*Orat.*, pp. 15/31; 16/31). He uses them to allude to contemporary politics. His progymnasmata may also contain such allusions, which a contemporary would have understood: for example, 'αὐτοκράτορες ἄνδρες' who were attracted to the deeds of Ares may well be the Comneni; and an attack on the emperor Julian for prohibiting the use of Hellenic books is perhaps a reference to Comnenian attempts to control education (Widmann, 'Die Progymnasmata', pp. 21–3); unfortunately we can only speculate.

the ground like a cedar, felled by the woodman's axe. That is all.

Then Chrysoberges returns once more to the emperor's mercy: God put one man to the sword in order that the others might be saved; the ringleader was destroyed, but all the others were spared. In this context Chrysoberges recalls that Rabsakeh, envoy of Sennacherib, had threatened Jerusalem, yet the angel of the Lord smote the Assyrians (II Kings, 18:17–19:35). Thus, the orator implies, evil always threatens good, but God always comes to the aid of those who defend what is right. And so Alexius' suppression of the Constantinopolitan rebels is drawn into the timeless pattern of great victories won by the good and the merciful.

Next Chrysoberges moves into a long discussion of the sickle of punishment (which derives from the Septuagint version of Zechariah, 5:1–4). The Biblical image may conceal a contemporary allusion: curiously, Mesarites also mentions the 'δρέπανον Ζαχαρίου', to which he likens the wreath with which John Comnenus had himself crowned (*Palastrevolution*, p. 22/31). For Chrysoberges the sickle is in the hands of the emperor's family: presumably a reference to the fact that Alexius put down the revolt with the aid of his kin; but this is deliberately obscured in abstraction. It is stated much more clearly both by Mesarites (*Palastrevolution*, p. 42/13–14) and by Nicetas Choniates (Nic. Chon., p. 527/56–7).

The sickle destroys the rebel, his timber and his stones (i.e. his supporters; cf. Zechariah, 5:4). And it slashes to pieces his native corpulence (again fatness as John's one quality). Those who supported the revolt were shallow, casual, ill-bred men from the market-place (is this another small glimpse of reality, or merely a conventional insult?).

The revolt, says Chrysoberges, was crushed with phenomenal speed. The swollen billows of the sea take longer to break against the rocks than the emperor took to smash this puffed-up flesh (yet again!). The revolt was no more substantial than a mirage conjured up in a steamy haze: the emperor was the sun (Chrysoberges eagerly seizes the opportunity), who cleared the air. The swiftness and ease were extraordinary: the emperor is greater than Caesar, who 'came, saw and conquered', for the whole episode was over in

less than a day; the rebel was no more than a fly that perishes the day it is born; an ass in lion's clothing.

Then we return to the theme of mercy, a coda which echoes the introduction: after the rebel's death the wrath of the emperor subsided. Rhetoric serves as a twofold offering: a gift of celebration for the emperor's victory, and a gift of thanks for his magnanimity. With a few more words of praise for the emperor, and with the assertion that the emperor's magnanimity will surely be rewarded by God, Chrysoberges ends his speech.

The speech contains almost no factual information. This detailed summary of it shows just how consistently and ruthlessly Chrysoberges applies the principle of 'deconcretization'. The author does not even set out to describe specific historical events; his purpose is to extract only the moral essence, that which is general, outside time and place. The real subject of his speech is the victory of the sun over darkness, of mercy over malice, of the legitimate ruler over would-be usurpers. That the ruler happens to be Alexius III, and that the would-be usurper happens to be John Comnenus, is more or less incidental.

Chrysoberges' imagery is conventional: the emperor as the sun; the empress as the golden plane-tree; ships in storms (*Orat.*, pp. 4/18–23; 11/21–2). The portraiture is iconographically traditional: Alexius III has flashing eyes, windows for his golden soul; his mouth oozes words like a honeycomb (a honeycomb in which there are no drones, only honey-producing bees); his shoulders, calves, ankles and other parts were all fashioned by Athene and Ares (p. 3/8–17).[51]

To illustrate just how standard is Chrysoberges' imagery, we can compare it with the parallel accounts by Euthymius Tornices and Nicetas Choniates.

For Tornices, Alexius III is a wise helmsman who saves the ship of state from a raging storm; John Comnenus is fat and fleshy, a useless burden (cf. *Iliad*, XVIII, 104); inflated in mind and body; a puffed-up ox-carcass; a bloated wineskin (cf. Chrysoberges, *Orat.*, p. 9/25–7); his chair splintered under the weight of his body. Then there are the images which we have already met in Chrysoberges: barbarian axes drunk with blood (cf. Deuteronomy, 32:42); proverbial apes; Empedoclean monsters; a headless neck and a

[51] On conventional literary portraiture see Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 231–2.

neckless head (i.e. John was beheaded); victory with phenomenal speed, within a single day, before sunset.[52]

Choniates, too, plays games with the corpulence of John Comnenus.[53] John's supporters are a 'stupid mob', as they are in Tornices; but 'this Satan' was defeated very quickly.[54] Here again, as the villain is identified with Satan, the particular historical conflict is drawn into the eternal struggle between good and evil.

It is not easy to establish the order in which these three speeches were written. Van Dieten suggests that Choniates' account is the earliest (because it implies that John's head still lay exposed in the market-place).[55] Yet even if this suggestion is correct, ought one necessarily to assume that Chrysoberges and Tornices borrowed their imagery from Choniates? It is quite possible that each author independently drew on the common stock of current and traditional clichés. The epithets for John Comnenus may well have been bandied around at the time by word of mouth.

Whatever the textual relationships between these three speeches, all of them are cast in the same conventional mould, and all of them are very different from the fourth account of the same episode: the speech of Nicholas Mesarites. The point of comparing Mesarites and Chrysoberges is not to weigh up the plusses and the minuses, not to grade them relative to one another. Chrysoberges was an eminent orator, and his skills are not in dispute.[56] The aim is simply to highlight the differences (as reflected in these speeches) between two strains of Byzantine rhetoric in the late twelfth century. We do not question the validity of either.

The first difference is one of perspective, of the position of the author *vis-à-vis* his own narrative, and *vis-à-vis* the events which he describes. In the speech of Chrysoberges there is no authorial presence. The tale is impersonal. Its notional narrator is above all mere opinion; he has no individuality, no point of view; he just enounces general truth. The narrator, like his topic, is taken outside

[52] Darrouzès, 'Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès', pp. 65/8–11, 21–5; 66/19–20; 67/5, 16/20; 68/3–4, 8, 11–12, 16, 24, 31–2; 69/9, 12.

[53] Nic. Chon. *Orat. et ep.*, pp. 104/12, 16, 19, 21–2, 24, 27; 105/3–5, 8, etc.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 104/13–15, 27; cf. Darrouzès, 'Les discours', p. 67/12.

[55] Nic. Chon. *Orat. et ep.*, p. 105/25–9; see van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen*, p. 128.

[56] For a brief, but appreciative, assessment of Chrysoberges' art, see N. Jorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucarest, 1934), p. 52.

time and locality, and he becomes a commentator from eternity. Mesarites, by contrast, makes his own presence felt.[57] His narrative is frankly personal. He is involved in the events which he describes, and he presents them from his own point of view.

Mesarites tells us that he was at home when he heard the news that John (Comnenus) had seized the throne. Greatly perturbed, he looked out into the street. When he heard that the crowd was looting, he felt he could not remain in his house, and he rushed towards the Great Palace. Near the entrance to the Hippodrome he was stopped by friends who urged him not to proceed: 'Where are you going?' they exclaimed. 'Don't you see that there are murderers about?' Mesarites replied that he was on his way to the church of the Virgin of Pharos (where, we recall, he served as *skeuophylax*) to check that its treasures were safe.

He tried to gain access to the leader of the revolt, but his requests were turned down, so he dashed to his church and discovered a group of people trying to smash down the doors. He spoke to them with a mixture of threats and entreaties, and (with the aid of the Virgin) he managed to win them over. Indeed, he even organized them to fight for the protection of the church: and when Italians and Spaniards arrived in expectation of rich pickings from the church's treasures, Mesarites led his 'children of Ares' against the barbarian onslaught. He describes the battle in detail, and especially his own brave exploits: grasping a spear in both hands he set about the heads of the aggressors; he took a short cut to head off those who were pillaging the church's possessions and, with a sudden attack, he forced them to return what they had stolen; he inspired the timid to fight, as they took cover behind his body like 'Teucri' behind Ajax's shield of seven bulls' hides (cf. *Iliad*, VII, 222; VIII, 266).

Now, with the author asserting his own real involvement in real events, we are clearly dealing with a very different kind of literary phenomenon: conventional panegyric to the emperor gives way to individualistic self-praise. Not that the panegyric element is forced out entirely: Mesarites does give a nod in the direction of the 'guiding sunlight' Alexius III, the empress so richly endowed with wisdom and other virtues, and even the admirable Alexius Palaeologus (*Palastrevolution*, pp. 41/8–9, 26–9; 42/17–18). But

[57] On authorial presence and 'self-consciousness' in Byzantine literature, see above, pp. 112–13, 191–3.

enter the personality of the narrator, who shakes off the restrictions of traditional anonymity and leaps, perhaps rather over-enthusiastically, into the centre of his own narrative.

Mesarites tells not only of what he saw, but also of what he heard, and occasionally he even names his source. He is aware that not all that he is told is fully trustworthy, but rather than reject his sources he asks the reader to judge, and to blame the informant, not the author, should anything be found to be false (pp. 25/19–24; 26/21–2). Thus Mesarites, the active participant, is not afraid to admit that the whole truth might sometimes have escaped him, that aspects of his story may not be absolutely reliable or accurate. This is an unexpected position for a Byzantine rhetor.

Mesarites' purpose is not primarily to edify, not to present some eternal verity. It is far more mundane: apparently many of his acquaintances had approached him in the streets and squares and had asked him to tell them about the revolt; but his throat was exhausted after the day's exertions, and he was short of breath, so he resolved to set down in writing all that he had seen (pp. 19/9–20/10). This all sounds so plain and ordinary by comparison with the grandeur of Chrysoberges. Perhaps in Mesarites' self-deprecating little tale there is more than a hint of irony. Chrysoberges is always devastatingly earnest.

While Mesarites' preamble is quite unlike the conventions of Byzantine rhetoric, it is reminiscent – almost to the point of parody – of the conventions of Byzantine historiography. Chroniclers regularly claimed that they composed their works because they had been cajoled by friends. Thus Theophanes relates that he was asked by his dying friend, George Syncellus, to complete the chronicle that Syncellus had started; Theophanes was unwilling to take on a task which he knew to be beyond his powers, but he eventually allowed himself to be persuaded.[58] Zonaras also claims to have been pushed into writing by friends. And Nicephorus Bryennius (or at any rate the author of his preface) insists that he only embarked on his arduous task of writing history because his mother-in-law Irene wished to have the deeds of her husband (Alexius I) praised for eternity.[59]

[58] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 3–4.

[59] On this convention in historiography (whether or not it also corresponds to reality) see H. Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung*, II (Munich, 1900), pp. 53–4.

Moving from Mesarites' preamble to his description of the revolt we again find, by contrast with Chrysoberges, an abundance of specific detail. Mesarites tells of how John Comnenus and his followers made their way to St Sophia and demanded that the doors be opened; the disturbance attracted a motley crowd of onlookers, who declared John emperor; they searched for the patriarch, who hid. Then the rebels set off for the Palace: not by the direct route (Mesarites stresses), not past the guard-posts of the axe-carriers, but by an inconspicuous route via the Hippodrome.[60] Mesarites informs us of John's plans for foreign policy, and of the support he received from the workers at the mint,[61] who (adds Mesarites) toil day and night under the merciless gaze of their overseers.

Mesarites describes the course of John's coronation in minute detail: his supporters were at first unable to get at the crown (which hung high up in St Sophia), until a monk had the idea of using a stick to pull down the chain to which the crown was attached. There is a full acount of Mesarites' defence of his own church, and as we saw, of his own part in it. And then the rebellion is crushed: at the climax of the battle John Comnenus sits in a building called Muchrutas,[62] overwhelmed by a desire to sleep. When Alexius' soldiers arrive, John hides in the labyrinth of inner rooms where, because of the darkness, his pursuers do not recognize him. Somebody asks him who he is, and in confusion and despair he gives his name. He is set upon and dragged by the hair to the triclinium of Justinian: a soldier strikes him with a sword; he falls; he is hauled wounded to the Hippodrome, where he dies.

Conventionally 'deconcretized' Byzantine rhetoric normally omitted the names of people and places: Chrysoberges, Tornices and Choniates stick to the convention, and Mesarites regularly ignores it: he consistently refers to John Comnenus by name, and he even names the eunuch George Oinaiotes and, albeit periphrastically, Alexius Palaeologus ('παλαιόνουν καὶ παλαιόλογον τῷ γένει') (pp. 42/17–18; 43/3–4; 46/18). Ethnic names are always given precisely, as are the names of churches and of sections of the Great Palace.

[60] On this route see R. Guilland, *Etudes de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin, Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 479–80, 528–9.

[61] This perhaps helps to explain Tornices' obscure statement that the 'stupid mob' exchanged gold for copper (Darrouzès, 'Les discours', p. 67/12–13): gold symbolizes the mint, and copper means weapons.

[62] On this building see Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 122.

Sometimes Mesarites attempts to convey a visual image of one of the participants: the monk who devised that cunning ploy to reach the imperial crown is depicted as an indigent vagrant dressed in a torn shirt and sheepskin; the workers at the mint, the men whose job it was to produce a torrent of gold which flowed throughout the world, emerge puffing and panting, in soiled clothes, with dust-covered legs and soot-covered faces (pp. 22/18–26; 25/32–4). Although the details here are in themselves traditional, and although Mesarites constructs the images in a traditional manner, by the juxtaposition of opposites (e.g. riches – poverty), nevertheless these examples do illustrate Mesarites' unusual interest in, and attention to, specific detail.

He allows himself greater latitude when he describes the central figure of his narrative, John Comnenus. Chrysoberges says only (but repeatedly) that John was fat. Mesarites saw John at the very height of the rebellion, and, contrary to all the canons of Byzantine iconography, he saw him from behind:[63] coarse, black hair, full and heavy shoulders, the back of his fleshy, bloated head. Moving closer, Mesarites noticed that John looked weak and enfeebled, unable to respond to questions, head bowed (pp. 27/5–10; 28/11–13). At the end of the speech Mesarites describes John at the moment of his defeat: he sat on the floor wearing the crown, but not otherwise dressed like an emperor; his breath was heavy, and he was dripping with sweat, which he wiped with a towel (p. 45/11–18).[64]

That which Chrysoberges, Choniates and Tornices present as a generalized, almost mystically abstract corpulence, now acquires specific, visible, human features.

It might be thought that Chrysoberges and Mesarites wrote in different styles because they wrote in different genres. Not so. Mesarites' work, like that of Chrysoberges, is a speech, with many of the conventional hall-marks of the genre: it is called a 'λόγος ἀφηγηματικός'; it is addressed to an audience ('ὦ πάροντες'); and to the emperor; and it concludes with the hope that the reign of Alexius III will last for ever (see pp. 19/1, 7; 42/8–9; 49/3–7). This is Byzantine rhetoric, but of a highly individual kind.

The contrast between Mesarites and Chrysoberges is most

[63] See O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), p. 8.

[64] cf. Mesarites' description of sweating apostles in Downey, XXXII, 10.

obvious when both authors describe the same set of events, but it can also be seen elsewhere. All of Chrysoberges' works are written in the same abstract, 'deconcretizing' manner, whereas Mesarites consistently, in everything he wrote, tried to convey his own view of the world in specific detail. Mesarites does not strive to exclude mundane reality in the interests of a higher moral truth; his aim is to make actual events vivid, not to transcend them.

Let us look again at Chrysoberges. His imagery is cerebral and laconic, in the best Byzantine tradition. The image has no existence on its own; its sole purpose is to explain the essence of events, to clarify the Idea. For example, in his speech to Constantine Mesopotamites he points out that a man is not made prominent by his own virtues, but by the emperor, like a precious stone, which may sparkle in the emperor's crown, but which is dull when removed from its setting (*E*, fol. 284). The qualities of the patriarch John X Camaterus are hard to describe; Chrysoberges claims to be the first rhetor to attempt to cross this gaping chasm: when elephants are unable to traverse a deep ditch, the greatest of them voluntarily lies down in it, as a bridge for the lesser members of the herd;[65] let my speech be just such a bridge for you, children of rhetoric; cross it, that you may reach the expanses (i.e. the many virtues) of the patriarch ('Address', p. 63/19–28).

Both these images are, in their way, expressive. They are neatly paradoxical; they illustrate the main point by analogy; and, typically for Chrysoberges and for most Byzantine rhetors, they are constructed with a careful, elaborate logic, rather than by emotional association. They are figurative restatements of a point which has already been made. The writer does not attempt to provide insight into particular features, but to reinforce the general lesson.

Mesarites operates differently. He always keeps his eyes fixed on the particular object, whether it be his brother's bushy, navel-length, shoulder-width beard, which tapered at the end like a cypress; or the wattle-and-daub houses of Neakomis; or the difficulties of a journey from Pylae to Nicaea; or the fine food and wine with which he was regaled in Constantinople (*Neue Quellen*, I, p. 39/4–10; II, pp. 39/26–40/14; 45/8–11; III, p. 21/16–21). He

[65] cf. Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium*, ed. A. F. Schofield (Loeb ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1958–9), VIII, 15.

delights in the world as it is perceived by the senses, and he enjoys the surprising discoveries which await the alert observer. Even the simplest of experiences is worth recording, like breakfast at a provincial hotel (III, p. 41/7–23).

The structure of Mesarites' narrative is improvised and dynamic. On John Comnenus' revolt, after a very brief introduction, he plunges straight into the heart of events: 'John was already inside the divine sanctuary, having entered through the north doors' (*Palastrevolution*, p. 20/24–6). Only in the middle of the story does Mesarites pause for his 'preamble' to the audience, in which he explains his sources (p. 25/19–20). And later he interrupts himself again: 'now let my story follow my legs into the narthex of the church' (p. 33/11–12). Similarly in his account of the church of the Holy Apostles he constantly works to break down the barriers between writer and audience: after describing the baptism he expresses mock dismay that he has fallen into the depths of the Jordan and does not know where he will reach land. Further on he implores the audience, in ironic alarm, to remain with him a little longer, despite the lateness of the hour, for who knows what pressing engagements may distract them in the morning? (Downey, XXV, 1; XLI, 5–7). With this relaxed banter Mesarites creates an atmosphere of intimacy so different from the rigid didacticism of Chrysoberges.

There survives one other description of the church of the Holy Apostles: a poem of almost a thousand lines, written almost two centuries before Mesarites, by Constantine Rhodius.[66] Constantine does stress that the church's mosaics represent not myths but real events in the life of Christ and the Virgin (ll. 514–33). But his actual description amounts to no more than a list of topics with a brief indication of plot. For example: 'you may see Christ ascending that thrice-blessed mount of Tabor with his chosen band of disciples and friends, having changed His mortal form; His face shines with rays more dazzling than those of the sun, and His garments are a luminous white' (ll. 804–10). Both the terms ('τρισόλβιος') and the

[66] ed. E. Legrand, 'Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople', *REG*, IX (1896), pp. 36–65; portions of both Mesarites and Rhodius are translated by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1972), pp. 199–201, 232–3. See also A. Epstein, 'Building and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: Reconsideration', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, XXIII (1982), pp. 79–92.

images (the sun, white garments) are conventional. Mesarites is more individual and emotional: 'gaze upon this howling sea; see the waves, how some are piled high as mountains' (Downey, xxv, 6). The picture shows a world in motion, and its inhabitants may feel joy or fear, may weep or stand in silence, may be intense or casual, dedicated or flippant. Even the Pantocrator himself 'looks forth at the windows, leaning out as far as his navel through the lattice at the summit of the dome, like an earnest and vehement lover' (xiv, 2).

It is for art historians to establish whether Constantine Rhodius and Nicholas Mesarites describe the same set of mosaics, or whether the decorations in the church of the Holy Apostles were altered or replaced at some time between the middle of the tenth century and the end of the twelfth. Our point is that the two writers have a different way of looking, a different approach. And the difference between Mesarites and his predecessor Constantine Rhodius is essentially the same as that between Mesarites and his contemporaries, the rhetors who lauded Alexius III for quelling the revolt of the corpulent 'Persian'. Rhodius and the twelfth-century rhetors stuck to abstract convention, while Mesarites tried to convey a personal impression and his personal insight.

Heisenberg and others have already noted that Mesarites' manner is in certain respects unusual: that he enjoys humour (*Palastrevolution*, p. 56); that he uses folk motifs.[67] In the present comparative study of Mesarites and Chrysoberges we have tried to show that such observations should be set in a broader context. It is not simply a matter of certain unusual *features* in Mesarites' style; Mesarites departed from some of the basic *principles* of traditional Byzantine aesthetics.

Mesarites was not alone in his search for literary innovation. He built on the foundations already laid by Psellus, by Eustathius of Thessalonica, and by his contemporaries Michael and Nicetas Choniates.[68]

[67] Heisenberg. 'Die Modestoslegende', pp. 226–7; cf. N. Jorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, pp. 53–4.

[68] On the stylistic similarity of Choniates (in his historiography) and Mesarites, see F. Grabler, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, pp. 268–9. G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Homerismen in Nikolaos Mesarites' Beschreibung der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel', *BZ*, LXX (1977), pp. 306–9, claims that Mesarites used Biblical and classical allusions in order to display his own erudition: the present study tries to show that Mesarites' usage requires a more substantial explanation.

The differences between Mesarites and Chrysoberges are entirely aesthetic, not political. And conversely, Mesarites is aesthetically close to Eustathius of Thessalonica, but he has a very different social outlook. Form here seems to be independent of social and political content; the old wine is poured into new skins.

VII

Nicetas Choniates and others: aspects of the art of literature

In another age, in another place, Nicetas Choniates would truly have been a man to be envied. Conspicuously successful in all walks of life, privileged by birth and education, gifted by nature, he was a distinguished orator and historian, and he attained the very highest offices of government.[1] Yet in Byzantium, in the dying years of the twelfth century, success could be devastatingly hollow. Choniates, one of the most powerful men in Constantinople, was powerless to stop the empire lurching to its own destruction: he saw the signs of its fatal weakness, lived through (and only narrowly survived) the calamity of the fall of the city in 1204, and ended his days in impecunious obscurity. His life, no less than his works, is a mirror of the age.

Nicetas Choniates was born in the early 1150s, in the town of Chonae in Asia Minor, of a well-to-do family. He was baptized by the local metropolitan. At the age of nine Nicetas was sent to Constantinople for his education, following his older brother Michael. Michael made a career in the church, and in 1182 was appointed metropolitan of Athens. Nicetas was trained for government. On completing his studies in rhetoric and law, he was posted to the provinces as a tax official (as Michael wrote in a letter c. 1180). After this administrative apprenticeship he returned to the capital and to the court, where, under Alexius II, he served as an imperial secretary. However, his rise was halted by the coup of Andronicus I. Nicetas was utterly opposed to the style and policies of Andronicus' rule, and he refused (unlike his brother Michael)

[1] On Choniates see F. I. Uspensky, *Vizantiyskiy pisatel' Nikita Akominat iz Khon* (St Petersburg, 1874); J. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin, New York, 1971), pp. 1–55; A. P. Kazhdan, *Kniga i pisatel' v Vizantii* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 82–119; (or in Italian translation, *La produzione intellettuale a Bisanzio* (Naples, 1983), pp. 91–128).

even to make the appropriate complimentary noises: he quit his job, and was perhaps fortunate to be left unpunished.

The reign of Andronicus was merciful only in its brevity, and under Isaac II Angelus the career of Nicetas Choniates took off once more. His promotion was rapid: court orator, governor of Philippopolis, judge of the *velum* (one of the top judicial posts), he finally became logothete *ton sekreton*, in effect head of the civil service.

Choniates was rich. In the capital alone he owned two houses: one was large and elegant, in the Sphorakion district, close to the Mese, the main street; the other was more modest, but handily placed in the vicinity of St Sophia. He also had his own church. One of the most sought-after eligible bachelors in town, he eventually married into the family of the Belissariotae, his friends and fellow-administrators.

In April 1204 the ground crumbled, and the edifice of Choniates' career collapsed. As the Latins took the city, he and his family fled on foot, to the jeers of the local rustics who were heartily amused by the fall of the mighty and who offered vital provisions at vastly inflated prices. After a brief sojourn in Selymbria, Choniates joined Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea, but here his rhetorical talents failed to win him either praise or influence. The family was stricken by poverty. Michael was forced to flee the crusaders in Athens, and lived in destitution on the island of Keos. Close friends perished. Nicetas himself died in about 1215.

Nicetas took with him to Nicaea, and there completed, the greatest of his writings: his *History*, in twenty-one books, of the years 1118–1206. The *History* is far more than an authoritative source of political facts for the modern student; it is a work of literature. In previous chapters we have already considered (in comparisons with other authors) some of Choniates' social and moral opinions. The present chapter examines aspects of his literary art.

1. SHADES OF COLOUR AND SHADES OF MEANING

Byzantine painters used to good effect a broad range of colours. As Lazarev notes, for example, on the use of colour in a late eleventh-century Byzantine illuminated manuscript, 'the delicate

variations of violet, blue, pale lilac, green, red and yellow subtly complement one another, and provide a vivid contrast to the gold'.[2] But while artists played on shades and variations, writers of the same period tended to speak only of a limited set of traditional colours. Literary portraits were, for the most part, painted only in gold, red and white. 'His locks were like gold, his cheeks like roses, and his skin was lily-white' – thus 'Pseudo-Prodromus' extols the beauteous countenance of John, nephew of Manuel I;[3] and John has numerous clones in eleventh- and twelfth-century literature.

Normally, therefore, one finds a limited and fixed set of colours used as standard elements of a standard, formulaic description. Yet this was not always the case. By subtle manipulation of the expected stereotypes, by presenting them in fresh combinations and in a new perspective, a skilled author could infuse his colours with new and specific meaning. One such author, who could turn bland formulae of colour into eloquent forms of artistic expression, was Nicetas Choniates.

Choniates was a talented writer; but like most Byzantine writers he stuck closely to traditional forms and methods, in matters of colour as in everything else. Thus in his *History*, for example, Gerald of Antioch sits on his steed which is 'whiter than snow' (Nic. Chon., p. 109/68). The image is commonplace. Yet later Choniates allows himself more latitude: Alexius Branas rides a horse which is 'not quite all black, for it had a ring of white hairs like the circle of the moon on its forehead' (p. 378/63–5). Whiteness of skin was a traditional feature of Byzantine literary portraiture, but Choniates, using the cliché, seems at the same time almost to distance himself from it: the complexion of Manuel I was neither snow-white, like the skin of those who stay in the shade, nor dusky from an excess of sun (p. 51/77–81).

Whiteness, of course, is a positive quality. Choniates speaks of the 'whiteness of truth'; the white sails of noble departure are contrasted with the grey sails of disgraceful return (pp. 136/57; 166/2–4). If whiteness is goodness and purity, then to be multicoloured is to be impure, bad, corrupt. Here too Choniates

[2] V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), p. 189.

[3] *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens grecs*, II (Paris, 1881), p. 290/67–8. On similar limitations in Psellus, see Lyubarsky, *Psell*, pp. 234–5; cf., however, the much more variegated palette of Eustathius of Thessalonica in his commentary on the *Iliad*, Valk, II, p. 509/17; III, pp. 83/6–7; 142/13–14; 199/10–14; 250/15–16; 256/11.

accepts convention: the villainous Andronicus I is a 'multicoloured ('ποικίλος') chameleon'; Manuel I offers devious, variegated ('ποικίλος') excuses (pp. 353/39; 217/37). And yet, admits Choniates, diversity ('τὸ ποικίλον') is the essence of real life, whatever our ideals might be (p. 424/33–7). Perhaps this is the reason why Byzantine authors were unwilling to push back the boundaries of chromatic convention: not that they were unable to *perceive* different colours, but rather they had an ingrained aversion to chromatic diversity. If a Byzantine reader came across a multicoloured description, he would not simply find it strange and unfamiliar; he would probably assume that he should adopt a negative attitude to the object or person so described. Writers were thus limited not by deficiencies in their own vision, but by the aesthetic sensibilities of their cultural environment.

Only twice does Choniates paint 'variegated' portraits,[4] and on both occasions the object of description is Andronicus I.

Choniates describes a picture which Andronicus had placed on public exhibition: the picture showed Andronicus in the strange guise of a peasant emperor, in threadbare blue-green working clothes, white knee-length boots, and with a sickle in his hand (p. 332/24–8). Andronicus' purpose in displaying such a portrait must have been to show his simplicity, his affinity with ordinary people, in much the same way as Christ's dark blue (rather than gold) raiments in a picture in the church of the Holy Apostles symbolized (so Nicholas Mesarites informs us) his indifference to material luxuries (Downey, XIV, 8). Choniates, however, does not leave Andronicus' self-image with such comforting associations. For he speaks earlier of the colour of the emperor's clothes, in a completely different context: Andronicus goes out to greet the patriarch Theodosius dressed in violet and with smoke-coloured headgear (Nic. Chon., p. 252/73–6; cf. also p. 271/54).

The modern reader may glance through these passages and notice nothing amiss. But for the Byzantines the sudden appearance of blue-green, violet and the colour of smoke would not only have been strikingly unexpected; the display of polychrome intemperance would create an impression of dangerous instability. He who is fickle in colour is fickle in life. Elsewhere Choniates likens

[4] But cf. also the mention of a 'two-coloured shirt', p. 342/89, where the intent is clearly to startle.

Andronicus to Dionysus: the only difference between the two was that the emperor did not prance about in a fawnskin and saffron tunic (p. 321/25–6). This is a distinctly back-handed compliment; the point is that it would have been perfectly in keeping with the emperor's character if he *had* worn such outlandish colours.

Colour-symbolism was prominent in Byzantine daily life, particularly at court, and at the summit of the chromatic hierarchy were the 'imperial' colours, purple and gold.[5] Nicetas Choniates frequently mentions purple, or red, as the colour associated with the sovereign: the tomb of Manuel I was covered by a red stone the size of a man; Andronicus I ordered that a purple vessel be removed from the Great Palace and taken to the church of the Forty Martyrs, to the place designated for his own tomb (pp. 222/76–7; 332/18–22).

An especially important symbol of Byzantine imperial dignity and authority was the purple of the imperial ink.[6] One of the stock images of court rhetoric and of liturgical poetry is that of the imperial pen, with its life-giving, blood-red flow. It is an image also used by Choniates: with the red of his imperial ink Manuel I poured the blood of new life into defunct legislation on monastic property; and the new laws were later ratified by Manuel I 'with red letters, like a sword of flame' (pp. 207/87–91; 212/43). The pen as sword or javelin is also a commonplace in Byzantine literature, and the reverse image (javelin as pen) appears in one of Choniates' speeches: Isaac II Angelus painted the river Morava red with the blood of defeated Serbs; with a flourish of his awesome javelin, as with a pen, he signed in scarlet the Empire's liberation from the barbarians, for whom his writing signified (in Homeric fashion) 'purple death' (Nic. Chon. *Orat. et ep.*, p. 31/13–23; cf. *Iliad*, v, 83).

In the examples thus far Choniates' use of purple and red has been impeccably conventional, perfectly in accordance with Byzantine literary norms. But Choniates could stretch his usage beyond convention. Take, for example, the following episode. Andronicus Comnenus went to Jerusalem, where he formed an illicit liaison with Theodora, widow of the king of Jerusalem. Theodora was the

[5] See H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte: der Christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur* (Graz, 1965), pp. 84–90.

[6] See F. Dölger, J. Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, I (Munich, 1968), pp. 28–30.

niece of Manuel I, and the emperor addressed to the authorities in Palestine a letter signed in crimson, ordering that Andronicus be arrested and blinded. The letter was intercepted and passed on to Andronicus himself. But, comments the historian, if the letter had fallen into the wrong hands, then Andronicus' eyes would have become crimson with blood, pallor would have seeped into his cheeks (cf. *Iliad*, III, 35), and he would have been dyed in the purple death (Nic. Chon., p. 141/5–8). Here are the same set expressions as before (including the Homeric 'purple death' and a further Homeric echo), but their artistic function is utterly transformed: there is no trace of panegyric; 'purple death' causes no joy; the blood which flows from the emperor's pen promises not new life, but murder.

This transformed image of the imperial purple ink is repeated by Choniates several times in the course of his *History*: Alexius II signs his mother's death-sentence in what might just as well have been droplets of his mother's own blood; Andronicus I is annoyed that the purple-signed decrees of his predecessors are often consigned to oblivion, and he warns that anybody who dares do likewise with his own decrees will shed not tears, but blood (pp. 268/69–70; 326/64–327/80).

The purple of imperial garments is similarly given new meaning by Choniates. On the one hand, for example, he notes the debasement of the purple symbolism in his own times: the right to wear purple used to be an exclusively imperial prerogative, but now it was claimed also by some of the nobility. Conrad of Montferrat goes into battle against Alexius Branas with a purple badge on his armour; Isaac II allows Theodore Castamonites to deck out his horse in purple, and to sign documents with ink of the same colour (pp. 386/1–2; 438/43–5). And on the other hand purple clothes, like purple ink, can evoke images of cruelty and bloodshed: the garments of Andronicus I seem to be flecked with blood (p. 353/25–7). And Andronicus' enemies swear that they will not rest until the emperor's clothes are dyed with the blood of the emperor himself, rather than with the blood of a mollusc (which was the source of the imperial purple dye) (p. 260/22). Rebels against Isaac II don not the hoped-for purple, but the cloak of shame; the only purple for them is (yet again) the purple death (p. 424/1–2).

Disaster, in Choniates, is usually red. The historian is amazed, for example, that the capture of Constantinople was not preceded

by red omens: no bloody droplets rained forth from the heavens (cf. *Iliad*, XVI, 459); the harvest fruits did not yield blood; no fiery stars fell out of the skies (p. 586/73–4). Eustathius of Thessalonica clearly distinguishes purple dye from red – only the latter implies murder and blood (Valk, I, p. 9/21–4). Choniates makes no such distinction, and he regularly associates the imperial purple with bloody murder.

Perhaps even more striking is the way in which Choniates transforms the hierarchic function of the other imperial colour: gold.

In 1176, after the defeat of the Byzantine army by the Turks at Myriocephalon, Manuel I receives Gabras, the envoy of the sultan. Manuel is still in his armour, over which he wears a cloak decorated in purple and gold. Normally one would expect such a cloak to lend dignity and authority to the emperor's appearance. But not here. Choniates' adjective is not 'golden', but 'the colour of bile'. And Gabras takes up the point: '"that is not an auspicious colour; indeed, in wartime it is positively damaging to your chances of success"' (p. 189/57–62).

The imperial purple turns out to be the colour of blood and execution, and the imperial gold turns out to be the colour of bile and bitter defeat!

This is typical of Choniates. He sticks to cliché and stereotype, soothing the reader with conventional images; then suddenly he presents the image in a new and strange light, startling the reader with his unconventional interpretation.

Since Choniates takes such liberties with the colour-symbols of the emperor, one is not surprised to find him scathingly irreverent towards the colour-symbols of the nobility. The most senior officials in the Byzantine administration had as their colours green and blue: Conrad of Montferrat came to Constantinople and received the title of caesar, but the only benefit which this honour brought him was the right to have distinctively-coloured footwear – that is, a caesar's blue boots (p. 393/39–41).[7] The *protosebastos* Alexius Comnenus placed his 'frog-coloured' counter-signature on imperial documents; and when followers of the rebellious Chrysus captured the tent of the *protovestiarios* John they found in it 'frog-coloured' boots, which caused them no end of mirth (pp.

[7] See Pseudo-Codinus, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), p. 149/5–6.

230/79; 507/47–50).[8] 'Frog-coloured' is an Aristophanic expression (*Equites*, 523).

As we see, Nicetas Choniates was far from indifferent to colour. But he used colour not in order to transmit an exact picture of reality, but in order to convey his own attitude to objects and persons described. Although some of his colours are apparently 'naturalistic' (frog-green, bile-yellow), they are in fact almost always moral or ethical symbols. Symbolic use of colour is only to be expected in medieval literature; yet despite Choniates' traditionalism – both in the range of colours which he employs, and in the fact that he uses them as symbols – he manages on occasion to break the mould of traditional interpretation, and to use colours as a means of social criticism.

2. SHIPS IN STORMS: ON IMAGERY AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

The image of a ship on a tempestuous sea is common in Byzantine literature.[9] Its popularity is not surprising: in the first place, it occurs frequently both in classical literature and in the New Testament; and in the second place, it is an image which must have remained particularly evocative for the inhabitants of Constantinople, who were all but surrounded by water, and who were greatly dependent on the sea and on the ships that sailed across it. The image itself was commonplace. But what about its interpretation? Did it carry the same meaning for all writers who used it? Here we shall examine 'ships in storms' in the works of two historians: Choniates, and Nicephorus Gregoras, who was over a hundred years his junior.[10] The aim is to show how even the most

[8] cf. also the oddly coloured shoes of another *protovestiarios*, p. 563/78–80.

[9] On this imagery in late classical and early Christian literature, see T. A. Miller, 'Obrazy morya v pis'makh kappadokiytsev i Ioanna Zlatousta', *Antichnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 360–9; H. Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche. Die Ecclesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg, 1964), pp. 239–564.

[10] On Gregoras see R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras. L'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1926); J. L. van Dieten, *Entstehung und Überlieferung der Historia Rhomaïke des Nikephoros Gregoras* (Cologne, 1975); E. Moutsopoulos, 'La notion de "kairicité" historique chez Nicéphore Grégoras', *Byzantina*, IV (1972), pp. 205–13; also in: *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucarest, 1975), pp. 217–22; O. G. Zakrzhevskaya, 'Kontseptsiya patriotizma Nikifora Grigory', *ADSV*, XIV (1977), pp. 85–95; H. V. Beyer, 'Eine Chronologie der Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras', *JÖB*, XXVII (1978), pp. 127–55.

conventional literary image could be used differently by different authors; and that this divergent usage reflects (and implies) a divergence in the interpretation of historical events.

To start with some examples of the image in Choniates' *History*: Manuel I and the Norman king went into battle like immense tides that stirred high billows; Manuel rages like the wind-swept sea; the sultan Kilij-Arslan II is 'restless as the sea'; Andronicus I is likened to a stormy sea, and to a fierce squall (Nic. Chon., pp. 98/11–13; 171/59–60; 122/58–123/59; 315/75; 316/91). Looters are worse than tempests; evil rears up like a wave; Choniates speaks of 'a brimming sea of woe'; a turbulent crowd is 'like the bottomless and endless sea'; a Genoese pirate is 'like an evil that flowed over all at sea'; on the eve of the calamities of 1204, the ship of state is storm-battered; and Choniates speaks of a 'sea of evils', a 'storm of tribulations' (pp. 326/52–66; 340/41–2; 370/86, 10; 481/2; 560/82–3; 571/58; 637/26–7).

Choniates describes the minutiae of Alexius III's return from a campaign against Michael, son of John Ducas: Alexius was undecided as to whether he should return by sea or by land, for he enjoyed the pleasures of both forms of travel; eventually he set sail in a warship; suddenly the ship was plunged into a tempest; it pitched and rolled horrifically in the huge swell, and almost sank; the sailors wept and wailed, and longed for land. These details are not inserted merely to lend colour to the narrative. The scene is a portent, foreshadowing the subsequent misfortunes of the empire: when they reached dry land, Alexius' companions (i.e. the ruling élite of Byzantium) 'cast into the depths of oblivion the difficulties and terrors of their danger, and proceeded to the Great Palace, there to hold horse-races and to receive the people' (pp. 529/35–530/50). Choniates' irony is plain.

The sense of these metaphors and similes is fairly consistent. The sea is menacing, dangerous, the place of shipwrecks and misfortune. Only rarely does Choniates mention the *good* fortune of being rescued from the sea: when the people of Ancona manage to break a siege by the Germans, it is as if they have raised their city from the depths of the sea; the Byzantines regard the accession of Isaac II as the advent of calm after a storm (again it is clear from the context that this observation is made with irony); on the third day of his flight from the Germans Manuel Camytzes, still spitting the salt

water of battle, reaches the harbour of safety (pp. 202/38–40; 356/29–30; 409/30–1).

Nicephorus Gregoras uses the image far more flexibly, less consistently. On the one hand, like Choniates, he presents the sea as an image of danger. He introduces it when describing discord in the church (e.g. Nic. Greg. I, p. 126/5–6; II, p. 1137/16), the incursions of enemies (I, p. 33/3–5; III, p. 19/1–2); there are 'seas of woe' (I, pp. 421/15; 467/7–8). Words like 'σάλοι', 'χειμῶνες', 'κλύδωνες', 'κύματα' are common. But on the other hand, Gregoras often presents the 'positive' aspect of the sea: a sea of praises; a sea of achievements; the sea of life which man navigates successfully when he turns to God (I, p. 495/5; II, p. 902/21–2; III, p. 214/9–12); sailors wend their way calmly from harbour to harbour; a ship completes its journey despite difficulties (II, pp. 576/10–13; 978/23–979/6).

The perils of the sea can be avoided: if one cannot swim one need not, and should not, jump into the sea; storms blow over (I, pp. 340/25–341/1; II, pp. 646/12–14; 1005/8–9; III, p. 148/14–16).

Choniates always treats the sea with deadly seriousness. Gregoras introduces it into jokes: a man ducks under the waves to avoid being soaked by the rain; the author's opponents froth more copiously than the sea on the rocks (II, pp. 971/5–6; 992/1–4; 994/5–6).

Gregoras is certainly not ignorant of the dangers which the sea holds for ships. He often speaks of shipwrecks; he mentions a ship which has lost its anchor; a ship with a broken mast; a ship which cannot be steered; the vast ship of state buffeted by wind and waves (I, pp. 13/10–12; 179/12–14; 308/12–18; 554/23–4; II, pp. 714/11–14; 823/17; 1052/4–5; III, p. 25/17–19). And yet the dangers are by no means inescapable: one may save oneself from a wreck if one clings to a suitable piece of flotsam; there are good ships and bad ships – only the latter are perilous to sail in (II, pp. 803/9–16; 844/3–6).

The theme of salvation, of rescue from the sea, hardly occurs at all in Choniates. In the work of Nicephorus Gregoras it is strongly and constantly present: Cantacuzenus insists that he knows many ways to save a ship in trouble (II, p. 588/16–19). Refuges from the sea are everywhere: the Lord stilled the storm of polyarchy and fortified a secure harbour at Nicaea; the Chora monastery is a safe

haven for Theodore Metochites; the mother of Andronicus III is a haven of salvation for all in need; Andronicus II is a haven for shipwrecked souls (I, pp. 97/1–6; 459/12–13; 468/24; 469/7). Islands, too, provide refuge; and the sands of the sea-bed help to soothe the wild elements (I, p. 380/10–11; II, pp. 802/4–6; 923/17–25).

More material for similes and metaphors is furnished by the image of an 'unshakeable promontory' which withstands the fury of the waves: Cantacuzenus boasts that he is a rock by the sea-shore, an unshakeable promontory, a man who scorns all the raging breakers that the sea can fling against him; and he likens his son Matthew to a promontory that can stand firm even against the greatest waves (II, pp. 588/14–16; 815/19–22). If a harbour evokes a sense of calm and safety, the promontory conjures an image of steadfastness, of defiant endurance. In Gregoras it is common; in Choniates – rare (cf. Nic. Chon., pp. 98/3–4; 339/5–8).

When a storm becomes avoidable, it ceases to terrify. The mere mention of it ceases to inspire an automatic reaction of alarm. For Gregoras a wrecked ship can even be funny: the tongue of an incompetent orator stutters, falters, and finally comes to grief as it keels over (II, pp. 1035/20–2).

Thus Gregoras and Choniates treat the image of a 'ship in a storm' in markedly different ways. Choniates tends to concentrate on the storm itself, using it as an image of destruction. Gregoras highlights the signs of hope, the courage and the conditions which enable the storm to be tamed.

How significant is this difference in their treatment of a single set of images? If one viewed it in isolation, one would be tempted to see it as trivial, incidental, perhaps even accidental. In fact, however, it reflects a more general and fundamental difference between the two authors, both in their use of imagery, and in their attitudes to historical events.

In Choniates metaphors and similes are usually tragic. A favourite comparison is with hunted prey ('θήραμα'), snares, nets and traps ('σαγήνη', 'ἄρκυς', 'ἀμφίβληστρον', 'δίκτυον').[11] Perhaps the most telling simile is that in which Choniates likens the

[11] Nic. Chon., pp. 96/53–4; 185/38–9; 191/11; 296/86 ('θήραμα'); pp. 267/33–4; 341/79 ('σαγήνη'); pp. 106/83; 131/85; 468/10–11 ('ἄρκυς'); pp. 141/95–1; 264/57–9; 267/35–7; 513/10–11 ('ἀμφίβληστρον'); cf. pp. 146/43–4; 226/4; 333/62; 360/29, etc.

Greeks who live outside Constantinople to animals whom hunters have separated from the herd and put into transparent glass jars (Nic. Chon., p. 579/60–1). This vivid picture of life as a perpetual and inescapable trap is typical in Choniates.

True to the mood, he is also partial to images of illness: the state is sick; expenditure eats into the treasury like gangrene; passions burn like a fever; a band of unworthy men is likened to a withered limb (pp. 96/58–9; 98/85; 125/23–4; 177/91–2; 189/5–6; 227/20–1; 262/6; 325/37; 344/69). Falls, too, are common: Homeric falls onto one's pate (cf. *Iliad*, v, 586); falls from horses, or from city walls (Nic. Chon., pp. 109/75; 134/93–4; 152/14–15; 195/25–7; 284/37–8; 386/3–4); Theodore Stypeiotes is felled by envy (p. 111/22–4).

Choniates makes figurative use of a large menagerie of wild animals: Andronicus I, Normans, Venetians, the sultan Kilij-Arslan II, and crusaders are all referred to as 'beasts' (e.g. pp. 62/90; 86/68; 175/31–2; 245/15; 272/65; 304/88; 348/65; 364/31; 589/63). And individual species are common in similes and metaphors: lions, bears, wolves, leopards, jackals, foxes, weasels, even camels (e.g. pp. 73/3; 115/31; 136/63; 248/74; 254/14–16; 266/24; 283/24; 305/29; 321/2; 362/82; 415/13; 492/47; 561/22; 590/67; 600/54). And then there are the reptiles: serpents in general; vipers, asps and dragons in particular (e.g. pp. 112/44; 145/2–3; 156/21; 301/4; 392/69; 464/8; 604/42–3; 611/27–8). The vile and vicious Latins are likened to a poisonous viper, to a serpent that strikes in the foot, to a bull-slaying lion (p. 301/4–5). Part of the Norman army is like a lion, part of it like a serpent (p. 319/46–8).

These are some of the most common images in the *History* of Nicetas Choniates. Many of them are also used by Nicephorus Gregoras, but, as in the case of 'ships in storms', Gregoras employs them to create a significantly different effect.

Gregoras often mentions traps, snares and nets, illnesses, unspecified 'beasts', wolves, and occasionally a lion or boar (e.g. I, pp. 19/2–4; 35/13; 45/11; 100/14–17; 267/19; 297/16; 317/12–14; II, pp. 622/12; 729/2–3; 1011/14; 1046/15; III, p. 217/13–14). But in each case Gregoras lacks Choniates' sense of hopelessness. Where Choniates is consistently negative, Gregoras consistently includes the positive alternative.

Choniates describes an illness as more powerful than its treatments, misfortunes as incurable, a doctor as a poisoner (pp.

298/42; 326/59; 546/59–60). Yet in the imagery of Gregoras efficacious cures and doctors abound (e.g. I, p. 316/7–8; II, p. 753/4–8; III, p. 70/22–3).

Gregoras' menagerie is far less varied and exotic than that of Choniates. It contains no dragons, asps or vipers (which are all among Choniates' most fearsome exhibits). And such beasts as remain are not presented as necessarily vicious: a wild animal may become domesticated (III, p. 126/20–4). Animals do not have to instil fear; they may be funny, or simply odd. Thus the image of a Nile crocodile suggests only incongruity; and Gregoras' opponent Barlaam is an ape (I, pp. 444/5–6; 555/20–3).

Or we may compare the use of metaphors and similes of fire. For Choniates fire is a terrible and awesome evil: it is, for example, a quality of base emotions – the fire of anger, the fire of envy, the fire of suspicion; insubordination is more flagrantly harmful than fire; those who avoid the smoke of taxes fall into the fire of slavery; the advance of the Latins is like a fire which flares up into a great conflagration (Nic. Chon., pp. 73/10; 87/93–4; 112/59; 113/73; 168/55; 203/69; 234/78; 258/3–4). Only rarely does Choniates' fire generate a comfortable, pleasant warmth: the fire of the love of children; the smouldering heat of pleasure remains in the mind, and is fanned into flame by memory (pp. 226/81–2; 585/38–40).

Gregoras, too, uses the image of fire to suggest destructive force: 'Scythians' destroy all that they touch, like a forest fire; the flame of punishment; the flame of evil; the fire of enmity; a man emits groans like smoke from a fire deep within him (Nic. Greg. I, pp. 38/17–20; 382/13–14; 496/6–7; II, pp. 617/10–11; 885/3; III, pp. 4/13–15; 57/14–18; 457/13). Yet Gregoras also speaks of the flame of zeal, the fire of the heart, the coals of grief, the flames of a young man's indecision (I, p. 307/8–12; II, pp. 804/23–4; 824/5–7; 1138/7). Here fiery emotions are strong, perhaps painful, but not necessarily ignoble or destructive. Moreover, Gregoras introduces images of escape from, or control over, fire: to avoid what one detests is to leap from the flames; a man who takes a foolish decision is like one who, when his house is ablaze, feeds the flames with sticks and olive-oil, instead of taking all sensible and necessary measures to put the fire out (III, p. 269/3–4; I, p. 225/14–17; cf. II, p. 671/11–14; III, p. 216/21–217/6).

Choniates and Gregoras construct their 'negative' similes and

metaphors from the same material: storms, snares, sickness, wild animals, and fire. But the two authors differ consistently in the nuances of their presentation. Almost always Choniates uses these images to create an impression of unmitigated gloom and inescapable disaster. Gregoras fully accepts and exploits the 'dangerous' connotations, but he tends to balance the possibility of destruction with the possibility of salvation. Storms are not only for being drowned in, but also for being saved from; sickness leads not only to death, but also to recovery; wild beasts may be vicious, but they may also be tamed; fires burn, but they can be quenched.

If Choniates and Gregoras had differed in their presentation of only a *single* set of images (say, the 'ship in a storm'), then we could have attributed the matter to chance, and there would have been no need to search further for an explanation. Since, however, the pattern of divergence is identical for *every* set of images, we may reasonably ask whether it reflects a more general difference between the two writers' views and attitudes.

One of the characteristic features of Choniates' outlook is his belief that human fate is fragile, unstable, fickle: 'O, the mutability of events, that can often change their course faster than speech' (Nic. Chon., p. 249/85–6). Such sentiments hardly constitute an original contribution to the philosophy of history, but then Choniates did not pretend to be a philosopher, and it would be unjust to demand that he write like one. He was an historian, and his primary task was not to formulate new thoughts, but to impose narrative order on events. The fickleness of fate was not, for him, a maxim for cogitation, but a principle of structured composition; indeed, it is at the core of his narrative method. Episode after episode hinges on the sudden change from prosperity to misfortune, from success to failure. Thus all human intentions and plans seem vain, all human efforts seem fruitless and doomed. At the end of his work he mourns the fate of his friends and himself – men who have lost their homes, their city, and the very means by which to live (p. 645/7). And throughout his *History* it seems that man's most consistent achievement is failure: Stephen, brother of the king of Hungary, dies, and the claimant to the throne is poisoned by a servant – which proves, says Choniates, the futility of human endeavour (p. 128/2–14). Alexius Branas nurtured the thought that one day he might take Constantinople, but it was not to be (p.

381/52–3). Manuel I laid siege to Corcyra but, try as his armies might, the path of events led not to victory, but to death (p. 78/64–5). Soldiers scramble up a hillside like goats, but achieve nothing except the appearance of activity (p. 87/9–10). The 'deeply intelligent' Andronicus I constructs all manner of ingenious machines to facilitate the capture of Nicaea, but the city's inhabitants destroy them in a raid (pp. 281/71–282/77). The Normans are defeated – thus the captors are made captives, and the subjugators are subjugated (p. 362/81–4). It was generally anticipated that Alexius III would become a soldier and protector capable of rectifying his brother's mistakes, but this optimism proves sadly unjustified (p. 459/57–63). Those who plundered the wealth of the money-lender Calomodius found that they could not enjoy it: 'they possessed the source ('πηγήν'), but they were unable to drink ('πιεῖν') from it' (p. 524/69) – quite a neat pun, since 'πηγήν' and 'πιεῖν' had almost identical pronunciation.

There are scores of similar episodes in Choniates: episodes in which men plan their actions carefully, and pursue their aims energetically, but manage to achieve, at best, 'an appearance of activity', or, at worst, total ruin. The tragedy of failure is the leitmotif of Choniates' *History*.

Nicephorus Gregoras is quite happy to concur in the view that human existence is fragile and precarious. Commenting on the accession of Stephen Dushan in 1331 he concludes: 'as I have frequently observed, no success in life survives untarnished forever' (Nic. Greg. I, p. 456/7–9). Nothing in life is reliable; everything can change so rapidly, so easily and so unexpectedly (I, p. 90/19–20; II, pp. 575/18–21; 637/4). The army failed to realize that nothing is constant in the world, and that the affairs of men are merely a game for God (or sport for the gods – 'παίγνιον θεοῦ', cf. Plato, *Laws*, 803); fortunes improve or decline without warning or explanation (I, p. 257/3–7). Such statements are common in Gregoras; more common, oddly enough, than in the work of Choniates. Choniates is more concerned to demonstrate the point, not merely to state it.

Gregoras may be perfectly well aware of the vagaries of fortune, but he does not draw Choniates' unremittingly tragic conclusions: 'I would weep, and bemoan the victorious advance of evil, were it not for the ancient sages who showed that all things are in constant flux ('τῶν πραγμάτων ἀστάθμητον χύσιν'); since neither joy nor

sorrow is ever pure, since all blessings and all woes are mixed, one must remain steadfast in adversity' (II, pp. 1013/20–1014/16). This is why Gregoras predicts with assurance that gales will make way for calm, and that waves which vie with Olympus and the Caucasus will, in time, be miraculously flattened: does not the halcyon make its nest in the depths of winter? And yet the winds cease to blow and the sea grows still, allowing time for the bird's young to hatch and learn to fly (III, pp. 130/20–131/13). A storm may be controlled with solid barriers and breakwaters, just as Andronicus II stood firm against the storms of tribulation (I, p. 337/20–2; III, p. 94/79).

We conclude that Nicetas Choniates and Nicephorus Gregoras differ in their use of imagery because they differ in their attitudes to history. For Choniates, events change constantly for the worse. For Gregoras, the course of events fluctuates unpredictably and inexplicably, often for the worse, but also for the better.

In the Middle Ages, as in classical times, writers commonly presented the inconstancy and mutability of human affairs through the concept of Fate (or Fortuna, or Tyche).[12] In antiquity Fortune was an autonomous deity. In the Middle Ages she was christianized and subordinated to God. Yet even if fate operated in accordance with God's will, its survival as a concept still allowed scope for some flexibility in historical interpretation. What exactly was the relationship (as reflected in particular historical events) between the fixed operations of fate and the transcendant will of God? The problem, or paradox, is analogous to that of the relationship between predetermination and free will.

Choniates and Gregoras both speak out against determinism. Choniates (unlike his contemporary, John Cinnamus),[13] strongly objects to the idea of fate. He is disgusted by those whose pious invocations of Divine Providence are in fact insidious ploys designed to disguise references to fate and necessity (Nic. Chon., pp. 95/29–96/36). Gregoras also writes of determinism. John Asen (in Gregoras' account) discusses the possibility of explaining events in one of two ways: either man controls his life by the exercise of his own will ('προαιρέσει καὶ βουλῇ'), or else he is governed by fate, which impels the 'sail of events' arbitrarily on its obscure and

[12] See A. Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen* (Dresden, 1978), pp. 169–70.
[13] See A. P. Kazhdan, 'Eshche raz o Kinname i Nikite Khoniate', *BS*, XXIV (1963), pp. 29–30.

haphazard course (Nic. Greg. II, p. 799/2–8). John Cantacuzenus (again, according to Gregoras), seems to believe that events are directed less by God than by the arbitary operations ('τὸ αὐτόματον') of fate; fate, says Cantacuzenus (following the odious Gregory Palamas) is 'uncreated energy' (Nic. Greg. III, p. 96/9–15). The argument is taken to its logical conclusion by John's son Matthew: if fate and its arbitrary actions ('τὸ αὐτόματον') direct our lives, and if they somehow manage to control our will, then we do and experience whatever the seething waves of fate bring upon us – by necessity ('ὑπ' ἀνάγκης'), and regardless of our own desires; there is no practical distinction between fate (or chance, or necessity) and Providence. Gregoras objects that Cantacuzenus underestimates Providence: God knows the future, but he does not compel people to act as they do, because he cannot instigate evil (Nic. Greg. III, pp. 206/7–212/1).

This is a typically medieval argument, in which the protagonists seem to be concerned more with nuance and emphasis than with substance. The Cantacuzeni do not, of course, deny the existence or the efficacy of Providence; they merely equate it with fate.[14] Gregoras does not deny fate: he often speaks of its fickleness and unpredictability; events, he says, are not guided by rules and regulations, but by fate and strong hands; this is why the path of life is so uneven (Nic. Greg. I, pp. 185/25–186/1; 201/23; II, p. 1014/4–6).

Nevertheless, between Gregoras and the Cantacuzeni there is a real difference of attitude. For the Cantacuzeni fate operates as a cosmic force, to the total exclusion of human will. For Gregoras, fate takes its place – and not an especially prominent place – alongside other factors of causation; fate brings the occasional surprise, which is as likely as not to be pleasant; indeed, 'fate' can be used as a synonym of success, as when Andronicus III sees fate smiling at him (Nic. Greg. I, p. 411/1–2), or when Gregoras speaks of the 'fate of the Rhomaioi' (e.g. I, p. 399/17) meaning the prosperity and prestige of the Byzantine empire.

For the Cantacuzeni the actions of men are rigidly determined. For Gregoras, man acts according to the synergy, the joint operations, of Providence and man's own will. In other words,

[14] See also A. P. Kazhdan, 'L'*Histoire* de Cantacuzène en tant qu'oeuvre littéraire', *Byz.*, L (1980), pp. 319–23.

Gregoras' argument is deliberately and specifically anti-determinist.[15]

Medieval Christian writers were all broadly 'providentialist' in outlook, and one should not imagine that Nicetas Choniates was an exception. Yet within this general framework of 'providentialism' there could still be individual nuances of approach. Thus Choniates is quite willing to show due respect for Providence, but at the same time he focuses attention more on other forms of causation.

Choniates' utterances on Providence are, for the most part, perfectly conventional: the hand of God is everywhere; we can only avert misfortune if God answers our prayers; the Lord chastizes and the Lord heals, the Lord strikes down and the Lord gives life; events move according to God's will, controlled 'ὑπὸ θεοῦ', 'θεόθεν' (e.g. Nic. Chon., pp. 188/21–3; 190/84–6; 306/60–1; 358/89–90; 361/72; 382/54; 422/73–4; 424/33–7). One might note in passing that such commonplaces hardly appear at all in the work of John Cinnamus who, as we mentioned above, prefers to stress the role of fate.

Sometimes, however, Choniates uses conventional formulae in an unconventional manner, as, for example, when he introduces an element of irony by using high-flown phrases for the interpretation of trivial occurrences: Alexius III was preparing to leave for Blachernae, but the floor collapsed near his couch; thus God, who may either guide or impede our course, proved that he is indeed Lord of the hours and years (Nic. Chon., p. 530/52–62; cf. Matth. 24:36). After victory at Myriocephalon the sultan showed quite uncharacteristic compassion and mercy, for he sent envoys to discuss terms for a truce; he believed that he was acting on his own volition, but in fact he was inspired and impelled by God – or rather, by God's agents in the guise of his own nobles, for whom the previous peace had been highly profitable (p. 188/21–31).

These ironic appeals to Providence can, on occasion, become downright caustic: 'I leave it for others to judge', says Choniates, 'whether the blinding of Isaac II was an act of Divine punishment' (p. 452/3–4); the siege of Prosek failed, either through God's will, or through the Byzantines' negligence (p. 506/22–5).

There are thus two levels of causation which function simultaneously: the divine, and the human. Choniates explains the nature

[15] For a different interpretation of Gregoras' views see I. P. Medvedev, *Vizantiyskiy gumanizm* (Leningrad, 1976), p. 112.

of their joint operations as follows: the hand of the Lord may topple tyrants, but it rarely acts without some intermediary ('ἀμέσως' – pp. 464/14–465/15). And throughout his *History* Choniates concentrates principally on these 'intermediaries': on the passions, vices and hostilities of people. At the heart of his work lies the great tragedy of Constantinople's capture in 1204, and this drama, as Choniates presents it, stems mainly from the conflicts between its human actors, rather than from the designs of the divine playwright.

Providence in Choniates is rather vague and remote. In the work of Gregoras history is guided far more directly, far more personally, by God, without 'intermediaries': is it not diabolical that some people think more of our own insubstantial life than of divine reality? Have such people no respect for the throne of justice? Do they not fear the flashes of God's heavenly fire? God is above nature, and can break the laws of nature if he so desires; everything is in his hands (Nic. Greg. II, pp. 904/21–905/2; 1042/3–4; III, pp. 172/14–15; 221/23–5).

Here there is no fundamental disagreement with Choniates; but Gregoras elaborates these conventional sentiments in his own way: all is subject to God's will – stars, air, sea, land, people, thunder, lightning, plague, earthquakes, rainstorms; sometimes God's works bring prosperity, sometimes misfortune, but above all they are instructive and edifying (I, p. 423/1–5). God can ease a heavy burden, but anything contrary to his intentions is bound to fail (I, p. 358/1–2; II, p. 655/12–14).

Both Choniates and Gregoras accept as axiomatic a Christian, providentialist, anti-determinist interpretation of history. But whereas Choniates does little more than punctuate his essentially human narrative with occasional providentialist formulae, Gregoras is anxious to demonstrate God's presence in every historical event. Gregoras repeatedly points out that all things which are brought about through God's will must ultimately be for the better, since God's will is by nature just, even if we mortals are unable to comprehend it (e.g. I, pp. 180/2–3; 263/14–15; 316/1; 318/5–7; 358/12–15; II, pp. 587/16; 777/10–13; III, p. 57/13–14).

Gregoras' opinions contain not the slightest hint of originality. They are conventional to the point of banality. But originality is not, in the present context, important. What is noteworthy for us is

the *intensity* of Gregoras' feeling on the subject, for his providentialist fervour affects both the general tone of his narrative and his interpretation of individual events. Theologically the gap between Gregoras and Choniates is insignificant, a matter of barely perceptible nuance. Emotionally, and hence historiographically, the gap is enormous.

How, for example, does each author treat particular instances of success or failure?

Choniates claims that Manuel I was 'protected by God' at the battle of Myriocephalon in 1176 (Nic. Chon., p. 183/72–3); but the battle was lost. In 1195 Isaac II Angelus sets out against the Bulgarians, 'entrusting himself to God', prepared either to give God the credit for victory, or to accept defeat as God's judgement; yet this elaborate piety is not sufficient to protect him from being defeated, deposed and blinded (p. 447/80–9). When Alexius Branas lays siege to Constantinople, Isaac II is disgracefully disorganized: he summons a gathering of monks, whom he asks to pray that God might put an end to civil war; he places all his hopes in the 'armour of the Spirit'; his general, Conrad of Montferrat, mocks him for his timidity, and urges him to rely not only on monks, but on soldiers (p. 383/81–95, 1–2). When Choniates himself quits Constantinople after its capture by the Latins, his companions thank God for their escape to safety, 'but I fell to the ground in such despair that I almost cursed the very walls of the city, because they alone did not suffer, because they remained standing and shed no tears' (p. 591/12–16). His account of his escape is not without its pious formulae (e.g. pp. 589/38–40; 590/90), but he leaves it to others to praise God for their salvation. Like Conrad of Montferrat, he could not bring himself to be grateful for a military defeat.

Gregoras sees things differently: Michael of Epirus and his allies failed to understand that any material force, any cavalry, any weaponry, is powerless without God's help; they lost their battle because their adversary trusted in God and relied only on Him for their protection (Nic. Greg. I, p. 73/16–24). John Cantacuzenus would surely have been routed, had not the Lord unexpectedly stretched out to him the hand of salvation (II, p. 660/9–10). The enemies of Byzantium would have achieved their aims, but the Lord (again) unexpectedly stretched out His hand. Was it not remarkable that the Providence of God converted a defeat on land

into a victory at sea? Everybody offered praise to God for the unexpected, miraculous ('παραδόξως') salvation and victory (I, pp. 118/4–120/19).

Incidentally, this same episode is also described by a historian who wrote a generation earlier than Gregoras, Pachymeres (Bonn ed., pp. 332–5). Pachymeres was closer to the events themselves (the incident took place in 1275, when the despot John Palaeologus gained a victory at sea immediately after a crushing defeat on land). Pachymeres relates the same basic facts as Gregoras, in the same sequence; but he does not claim that the victory was due to divine intervention; nor does he note, as does Gregoras, that John invoked the aid of God as battle commenced. We shall not digress into a detailed comparison of styles and attitude in Pachymeres and Gregoras. But it is curious that the overtly providentialist explanation (in this episode, at any rate) is introduced only by Gregoras.

In almost every event which Gregoras describes, God's wrath, God's right hand, or God's ever-watchful eye is present, guiding the action in accordance with the piety of the participants. Piety may sometimes be defeated, but this happens only because God wishes to test it (III, p. 253/5–7).

In the work of Gregoras there appears to be no vast gulf between the Kingdom of Heaven and life on earth. God constantly intervenes in terrestrial affairs. He gives us our deserts here, well in advance of the judgement to be pronounced after our deaths. Hence, for example, the impious Gregory Palamas is stricken with painful illness, in anticipation of the everlasting torments to which he will eventually be condemned (III, p. 185/2–5). God, according to Gregoras, deliberately maintains the balance of power between two rival 'eparchies': either he gives both of them strong leaders, each of whom is well capable of foiling the other's intentions; or he gives both of them weak leaders, neither of whom poses any threat to the other (I, p. 145/5–15).

It does indeed appear that Gregoras' use of imagery serves to emphasize his providentialist approach to history, his historical 'anti-determinism'. If events on earth are not predetermined, then there is always the possibility of change for the better: escape from storm to harbour, from sickness to cure; wild beasts may be tamed. Gregoras wrote in difficult times. The empire was in trouble, and

he himself was persecuted by the Palamites. Yet he managed to preserve a degree of optimism: the ways of the Lord are unknowable, and who can tell what disasters may miraculously be converted into victories?

Choniates does not contradict Gregoras in principle. He too is, broadly speaking, a 'providentialist' and 'anti-determinist'. The two authors differ not in their basic assumptions, but in their attitudes to (and explanations of) the actual course of events. Unlike Gregoras, Choniates allows some scope for the freedom of human action. As we saw, arguments for determinism are countered by the notion of synergy, of the joint operation of Providence and free will. Gregoras is more inclined to stress the Providential side of this synergy; Choniates – its human side.

Choniates and Gregoras would thus agree with each other fundamentally, but not completely. But out of this 'incomplete' agreement, out of these trivial and barely noticeable nuances of attitude, there arise two significantly different systems of literary imagery.

If our observations are correct, then in the work of Nicetas Choniates (but not in the work of Nicephorus Gregoras) there is a discrepancy between, on the one hand, the author's historiographical assumptions and, on the other hand, his use of imagery, the language of his similes and metaphors. Choniates accepts Providence, but in practice, in his chosen mode of literary expression, he allows it no room in which to function.

There are perhaps two main, and interlinked, reasons for this discrepancy. In the first place, Choniates' religious scepticism, to which he can only give occasional, veiled hints in the ordinary course of his narrative and discussion, may be less constrained at the artistic level, where the language is figurative, where the author is less rational, more susceptible to the power of his own imagination, less restricted by conventional and dogmatic formulations. In other words, Choniates expresses through his imagery attitudes of which he himself might not even have been aware, or which he may not have liked to admit. Secondly, Choniates' experience and perception of life was essentially tragic, despite his professed providentialism. Byzantium collapsed in ruins around him. The protagonists in his narrative, even gifted men like Andronicus I, are morally flawed, untrustworthy, and cruel. He has no respect for the

bureaucrats, nor for the monks, nor even for ordinary citizens. The Empire of the Rhomaioi was doomed. Is it surprising that his imagery exudes a sense of tragic hopelessness? Caught in the stormy sea of life, Choniates expected no calm, no rescues, and on the shore no harbours, but only rocks.

3. NICETAS CHONIATES AND ROBERT DE CLARI: ON NARRATIVE MANNER

The dramatic reign of Andronicus I attracted the attention of many chroniclers from western Europe.[16] Perhaps the most colourful tale of these events, and especially of Andronicus' fall, appears in the memoirs of the French knight Robert de Clari, who participated in the fourth crusade and was himself in Constantinople at a time when Andronicus' memory was still fairly vivid in the minds of its inhabitants.[17] Many details in Robert's narrative are legendary, and his account is infinitely less reliable than that of Choniates. But the present comparison between the two authors does not attempt to evaluate their merits as sources. The issue here is somewhat different.

Robert de Clari and Nicetas Choniates differ not only in what they narrate, but also in how they narrate it; not only in their selection of facts, but also in their presentation of facts.

The comparison is relatively simple, since both the knight of Picardy and the Constantinopolitan functionary relate roughly the same sequence of events. The similarity of the general framework makes stylistic individuality easier to pinpoint.

In speaking of the coup that cost Andronicus his life, both de Clari and Choniates begin with the attempt, by a delegation from the emperor, to arrest the Byzantine aristocrat Isaac Angelus, or Kyrsac, as Robert calls him (from 'κῦρ Ἰσαάκ'). Robert tells of how Andronicus' steward (*balliu*–Nicetas Choniates informs us that

[16] See E. H. McNeal, 'The Story of Isaac and Andronicus', *Speculum*, IX (1934), pp. 324–9.

[17] Robert de Clari, *Conquête*; see also *Historiens et chroniqueurs du Moyen âge*, ed. A. Pauphilet (Paris, 1952), pp. 17–91; English translations from *The Conquest of Constantinople*, transl. E. H. McNeal (New York, 1936). On Robert see M. A. Zaborov, 'Sovremenniki – khronisty i istoriki krestovykh pokhodov', *VV*, XXVI (1965), pp. 145–6; *idem*, *Vvedeniye v istoriografiyu krestovykh pokhodov* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 150–9; C. P. Bagley, 'Robert de Clari's "La Conquête de Constantinople"', *Medium Aevum*, XL (1971), pp. 109–15; J. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade*, II (Paris, 1973), pp. 341–89; also A. M. N. Patrone in *Roberto di Clari, La conquista di Constantinopoli* (Genoa, 1972), pp. 3–115.

his name was Stephen Hagiochristophorites) appears at the house of the 'good woman' where Isaac was staying. The bulk of the episode consists of a dialogue between the *balliu* and the 'good woman', after which the latter goes to Isaac and says, '"Ah, fair lord Isaac! you are a dead man. Here is the emperor's steward and many people (*gent*) with him."' Isaac, unable to flee, took his sword and went out to meet the steward, and asked: 'Sir, what do you want?' The steward 'answered him right villainously and said: "Stinking wretch, now they are going to hang you"', upon which Isaac 'drew his sword and struck the steward in the middle of his head and clove him through clear to the teeth'. (*Conquête*, p. 22.)

All is dialogue and action, Nicetas' narrative, by contrast, is full of purely descriptive details. Not only does he say that Isaac's house is close to the Peribleptos monastery, and that Hagiochristophorites' visit took place on the evening of 11 September 6794; he goes on to describe the clothes Isaac was wearing when he went out to Hagiochristophorites, the behaviour of Hagiochristophorites' servants, Hagiochristophorites' attempt to gallop from the scene on mule-back, and then Hagiochristophorites' lifeless body; he even cites Homer (*Iliad*, VI, 509 and XV, 273), and Sophocles (*Electra*, l. 25), and he packs his story with simile and metaphor (Nic. Chon., pp. 341–2).

Robert and Nicetas have similar descriptions of Isaac's subsequent flight through the town to the church of St Sophia. But Robert, unlike the Byzantine historian, again uses direct speech. Isaac shouts that he has 'slain the devil and murderer who has done so much shame to those of this city and to others'. And on arriving at the church he goes up to the altar and embraces the cross, wishing to save his life. Nicetas lacks this passionate 'embracha le crois'; instead he slows the pace of his narrative in order to dwell on the usual function of the platform which his Isaac mounts: here 'murderers would openly proclaim their crimes and beg forgiveness from those entering and leaving the holy sanctuary' (Nic. Chon., p. 342/9–12).

A crowd gathers. There are very different accounts of its behaviour. According to Robert, the crowd's attitude to Isaac was clearly defined from the start: they had come 'to see the youth (*vaslet*) who had done this hardihood'. Their immediate response (direct speech again!) was: 'He is valiant and brave, since he dared to

do this great hardihood', and their immediate demand was: 'Let us make this youth (*vaslet*) the emperor.'

Choniates, on the other hand, perceives how the mood of the Constantinopolitan plebs changes. He also says that people gathered to look at Isaac, but adds: 'Everybody thought that before sunrise Isaac would be arrested by Andronicus and condemned to death through subtle and unprecedented tortures.' Nicetas stresses the 'everybody'. But after a while, with still no sign of a deputation from the emperor (no nobles, says the unhurried Choniates, nor any of Andronicus' faithful servants, nor any of his axe-wielding barbarian guard, nor any purple-clad lictor: nobody at all), then the crowd became more bold; tongues began to loosen, and to offer Isaac their support (p. 343/31–7). And by morning every inhabitant of Constantinople was praying that Isaac would take the throne, and that Andronicus would answer for all the evils he had perpetrated (p. 344/44–8). By the afternoon, feelings had reached an intensity that could not be calmed even by the appearance of the emperor's supporters. People urged one another to action, and mocked those who did not show the requisite enthusiasm, those who did not arm themselves, but merely stood and watched the proceedings. Finally, people who had previously expressed dissatisfaction with Andronicus, but had hesitated in the face of risks, now openly sided with the rebels (p. 345/75–8).

Different again are the ways in which the two writers introduce Andronicus (or Andromes, as Robert calls him). For Robert the action moves in a straight line, as a single, simple chain of events. Andronicus-Andromes thus makes his appearance only after the coronation of Isaac Angelus. He comes to St Sophia to see Isaac, who already wears the crown (*Conquête*, p. 24). Choniates has a more flexible control of narrative time. His narrative (artistic) sequence differs, on occasion from actual sequence. Thus after his account of the crowd's militant morning mood, he switches to the previous night's 'first watch', with the emperor still in a palace outside Constantinople (Nic. Chon., p. 344/49–56).

The two versions of this episode differ not only in time and place, but also in substance. Choniates concentrates mainly on Andronicus' vacillations and dilatoriness: the emperor remains where he is and gives no orders, aside from a brief letter addressed to the inhabitants of Constantinople; only on the following day does he

enter the city. Robert, by contrast, presents an active and gallant emperor. Andronicus 'took many of his people (*gent*) with him and went to the church of St Sophia by a passage that led from his palace to the church. When he came to the church, he . . . saw him who had been crowned . . . He was very angry and he asked his people if there was anyone of them that had a bow, and they brought him a bow and arrow. And Andronicus took the bow and bent it and made to shoot Isaac . . . through the body. And as he bent the bow the cord broke, and he was sore dismayed and in great despair. Then he went back to the palace and told his people to go and shut the gates' (*Conquête*, p. 24). Note that the image of Andronicus shooting from a bow also turns up in Choniates, but the context is completely different: the emperor ascends the Centenarium tower and spends a while shooting arrows into the crowd which was storming the Great Palace (Nic. Chon., p. 348/18–19). The scene lacks the romantic grandeur of Andronicus taking aim at the heart of his crowned rival.

Choniates' treatment of Isaac's coronation contains another detail absent from the tale as told by the knight of Picardy. Isaac at first refuses the proffered crown, and his uncle, John Ducas, who is also at St Sophia, bares his own head, asking that the imperial diadem be placed upon it; but the crowd rejects the older claimant when it sees his shining baldness. The people of Constantinople, adds Choniates, had tolerated enough from the decrepit Andronicus, and had no desire to install, as the new emperor, an old man with one foot already in the grave (Nic. Chon., p. 345/94–7). The sarcasm, so typical of Choniates, is totally alien to the manner and approach of Robert de Clari.

Andronicus' resistance did not last long. He fled by boat. Robert, of course, gives him his *gens* for company, whereas Nicetas stresses that Andronicus was all alone but for two women, his wife Anna, and his hetaira Maraptice (whom, as the author considerately explains, Andronicus loved more than Demetrius Poliorcetes once loved his Lamia) (Nic. Chon., p. 347/35–8).

After Andronicus' flight, both historians tell of Isaac's entry into the palace, and of his ascent to the throne and seizure of power. Both versions again follow the same sequence of events, but from widely differing perspectives. Robert is loyal and pious: Isaac 'was seated on the throne of Constantine, and they [the people of the

city] all adored him as the holy emperor'. He gave thanks to God, and pointed out the great miracle: '"On the very day on which they were going to take and slay me, on that very day I am crowned emperor"' (*Conquête*, p. 25). (Note, incidentally, how Robert compresses the chronology. In his desire to intensify the drama, he squeezes into one day what actually took two days. Isaac was supposed to have been arrested on the eleventh of September, and he was crowned on the twelfth.) Choniates knows nothing of this pious tale. He is, indeed, generally sceptical of the cult of the emperor. For him, the main incident here is the crowd's looting of the treasury. He even gives the exact figures for how many gold, silver and bronze coins were taken, not counting bullion (Nic. Chon., p. 347/48–50). Robert, however, has Isaac declare: '"For the great honour that you have done me, I give you now all the treasure that is in this palace and in the palace of Blachernae."' What Choniates sees simply as looting, Robert calls a 'great gift' (p. 25).

There are certain features common to both accounts of Andronicus' actual flight. Both authors, for example, mention that it was frustrated by a storm. Yet Robert gives this no moral significance, while Choniates says that the sea rose in fury against Andronicus for fouling the elements with murders (Nic. Chon., p. 348/68–9). Here too the differences are plain.

For Robert all is again movement and action. Choniates is, as usual, more leisurely. For the Byzantine historian the focus of this episode is the account of how Andronicus is brought back to Constantinople in a small boat, and of how he, supported by the two women, laments his fate (Nic. Chon., p. 348/77–84). Lyrical commentary on the action almost displaces the action itself. Robert's narrative, by contrast, is full of energy and tension. Andronicus' ship is blown back to Constantinople by the storm; the company disembarks and goes to an inn, and the innkeeper's wife recognizes the deposed emperor; her husband goes to a 'certain high man', who lives nearby in a large palace, and who detests Andronicus because his father was murdered by Andronicus and his wife was raped by Andronicus; the 'high man' comes to the inn with his *gens* and arrests Andronicus (*Conquête*, p. 26). Again the tautness of the action is maintained with abundant direct speech. Andronicus converses with his men (whom he calls 'Lords' – *Seigneur*; and they call him 'Sir' – *Sire*), and the innkeeper's wife

talks to her husband. And once more Robert compresses events. According to Choniates, Andronicus fled first to the town of Chele, from where he intended to proceed to the 'Tauroscythians'; a ship was fitted out for him, but the storm prevented him from putting to sea; finally his pursuers arrived, seized him, and returned him to Constantinople (Nic. Chon., pp. 347–8). Robert lacks the whole Chele incident: the ship was blown straight back to Constantinople, and Andronicus was seized there, at the inn.

The next episode is typical of Robert. Andronicus is brought before Isaac Angelus who, in good feudal manner, accuses him of betraying his (Andronicus') *Seigneur*, the emperor Manuel. Andronicus replies in the same vein: '"Be still. I would not deign to answer you."' Isaac then summons citizens and takes counsel on the matter of Andronicus' punishment (*Conquête*, p. 27). Choniates paints a very different picture of the meeting between Andronicus and Isaac. The ousted sovereign was incarcerated in the tower of Anemas; his neck was weighed down with heavy chains ordinarily used to tether lions, and his legs were fettered; then he was brought before Isaac and abused: he was slapped and kicked, his beard was ripped out and his teeth were smashed (Nic. Chon., p. 349/93–3).

Andronicus' punishment – to be placed on a flea-ridden camel, paraded through the town and subjected to all kinds of degradation – is described in similar terms by Robert and by Nicetas. Here again, however, one can see the French knight's habit of 'ennobling' the action: he has Andronicus pierced by his enemies' swords (*Conquête*, p. 28), while Choniates has the crowd pelting its victim with stones and excrement, beating him with clubs and drenching him in urine (Nic. Chon., p. 350/25–7).

Robert ends his narrative with a passage not in Choniates. Pictures were put over the portals of Constantinopolitan churches showing how Isaac had been made emperor by a miracle, how the Lord had placed the crown upon his head, and how an angel had cut Andronicus' bowstring at the critical moment (*Conquête*, p. 28). Perhaps Robert's version of events was, to some extent, drawn from precisely such Byzantine 'popular art'.

The differences between Nicetas Choniates and Robert de Clari are striking. They are perhaps most obvious in the way in which the two authors interpret the nature of the events. Robert clearly 'feudalizes' Byzantium, both by introducing his habitual feudal

terminology, and by presenting interpersonal relationships as if they were based on feudal stereotypes. This tendency is particularly well illustrated by the scene in which Isaac Angelus meets the captive Andronicus. The Byzantine historian sees the encounter only as a bloody settling of old scores, but the Frenchman decks it out in the formulaic trappings of courtly honour.

The *dramatis personae* are characterized accordingly. Robert's Kyrsac and Andromes are, above all, knights. It is not just that they are everywhere attended by their 'people' (*gens*), nor that they persistently use western European knightly terminology: their entire behaviour is governed by the principles of the courtly ideal, where courage, loyalty and honour are the paramount virtues. Nicetas Choniates' actors are far more down-to-earth, and the author maintains a much more sceptical attitude towards them.

There is another, no less important, difference. Robert de Clari's account is dynamic, full of movement. P. Schon has noted the vigour and energy of Robert's narrative, and this can be linked to the scarcity of descriptions and comparisons, and the frequency of direct speech.[18] These features of the French author's prose stand out even more prominently in the comparison with Choniates, with his leisured pace and his penchant for psychological portraiture.

What are the implications of the phenomena we have observed? Is the difference in style between Robert de Clari and Nicetas Choniates essentially one of individual preference, or is it the product of deeper, socio-cultural factors? The question is too large to be addressed adequately in a short survey; here one can merely state the problem.

Scholars have frequently noted the dynamic quality of western art, as against the leisured lyricism and the psychological expressiveness of Byzantium. Western medieval art was more tense in its emotive expression. It dwelt on the Crucifixion, while Byzantium was orientated more towards the Resurrection. The visions of Byzantine mystics conjured up not the sufferings of the body of Christ (e.g. stigmata), but Divine Light; God's emanations

[18] P. M. Schon, *Studien zum Stil der frühen französischen Prosa* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), pp. 61–2, 190–1. There has been no study of the history of direct speech in Byzantine literature. We may note that dialogue seems to be used less frequently in 'native' Byzantine texts than in Greek texts from southern Italy: see e.g. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I (Leipzig, Berlin, 1913), pp. 436/12–437/18; 438/6–439/2; 441/7–442/6.

and energies, not his incarnate being. Romanesque sculpture twists in restless, arhythmic agony: human figures reach out in tortuous desperation, while animal motifs are metamorphosed into horrific monsters and mutants. Yet Byzantine artists create a sense of the purest calm and repose, achieved through the simple symmetry of frontal depiction; peacocks and monkeys lend a restful dignity to the manuscripts whose borders they inhabit.

The west, so it seems, was groping feverishly and painfully for the Kingdom of Heaven, whereas Byzantium nurtured the illusion of having attained it.

The west preferred art forms which emphasized the concrete, which related directly to *this* world. Byzantium was more contemplative and convention-ridden, for it was concerned less with the visible and tangible phenomenon than with the abstract, the essence. Thus the decorative focus of a western church is a complete, sculptured crucifix, while the Byzantines preferred the conventionality and 'incompleteness' of relief, the rhythm of lines eliding with background, rather than the asymmetry of bodies. They were particularly fond of the subtly ornamental minor genres, such as ivories and enamels. And in a Byzantine church the brunt of the burden of decoration was borne not by the plastic arts, but by mosaics and frescoes. The speckled shimmering of the mosaic tesserae as they catch the flicker of the candles intensifies the supernatural, the mysterious unreality.

The emotional tension of western medieval creativity comes across in its architecture: the angularity, the sharpness, the upward momentum of Gothic towers, arches and spires reaching out to infinity. The Byzantine cupola, pendentive, and other forms of spherical composition soften the lines, and nullify the sense of direction outwards and upwards: a Byzantine church was to be contemplated within itself, for it already encapsulated and expressed the essential image.

The differences between all these socio-cultural phenomena run along precisely the lines which we have tried to draw between Robert de Clari and Nicetas Choniates. Medieval artistic models were to a large extent defined by the common assumptions prevalent in a given society, and these assumptions often materialize as formulae and stereotypes. The contrast between Robert de Clari and Nicetas Choniates can, therefore, contribute to

our understanding of broader issues in the relationship between Byzantium and medieval western Europe, as economic, social, political, theological and moral opinions, attitudes and circumstances find expression in the habits and conventions of literary and artistic composition.

Index

Index compiled by Jenny Morris
Complete chapters or long sections are indicated by bold type.

Abasgians, 94
Adrianople, 37
Aemilianus, Patriarch of Antioch, 75–6
Aesop, 233 & n.23
Agapetus, *Mirror of Princes*, 25–6 n.10
Agathias: Attaleiates' references to, 77; copied by Leo the Deacon, 190
Agnes, bride of Alexius II, 126
Aldwin, count, 137
Alexander the Great, 29, 77
Alexius I Comnenus, Emperor (1081–1118): accompanied on campaign by Ioannicius, 95; and Attaleiates, 24 n.6; Bryennius on, 70, 249; and Zigabenus, 161; daughter and grandson of, 93, 94; decline of senate under, 47; Eustathius on, 116; leads revolt against Botaneiates, 83; and Roussel, 70; John Oxeites' attack on fiscal policy of, 154; Mango on, 14; Nicetas of Serres on, 159 n.104; and Prodromus, 96–7; Psellus' speech to, 54–5; rebellion against Botaneiates, 62; on slavery, 166–7; titles under, 199; wife of, 249; Zonaras on financial policy of, 59–61; on attitude to senate, 62
Alexius II Comnenus, Emperor (1180–3): Eustathius on, 126, 127, 191, 157; officials of, 139, 212, 256; signs mother's death-sentence, 126
Alexius III Angelus, Emperor (1195–1203): Choniates on, 224, 264, 270, 273; Chrysoberges on, 224–8, 231–3, 238, 243–6; crushes revolt of John the Fat, 254; Mesarites on, 224, 225, 237–9, 248, 250, 251; Euthymius Tornices on, 224, 246
Alexius IV Angelus, Emperor (1203–4): Chrysoberges on, 226 & n.6, 227, 228, 231, 233–4; and Italian question, 236
Alexius, Patriarch, of Constantinopole (1025–43), 73
Alexius, *see also* Aristenus, Branas, Contostephanus, Palaeologus, Phorbenus
Alyates, Theodore, 63
Amasians, 70
Anatolian magnates, proclaim Botaneiates emperor, 46
anchorites: Eustathius on, 170
Ancona, 109, 125–6, 264
Ancyra, 73; *see also* Nicetas of Ancyra
'Andromes' (= Andronicus I): Robert de Clari on, 280–84 *passim*
Andronicus I Comnenus, Emperor (1183–5): Basil Camaterus and, 207 & n.26; Choniates on, 210, 256–7, 259–61, 264, 267, 270, 277, 278–9, 280–84; chroniclers of, 278; Chrysoberges on, 238; fall of, 278, 280–84; Eustathius on, 137, 144, 156, 177, 210; Demetrius Tornices and, 212; Gregory Antiochus and, 211, 214, 215, 217, 218–19, 239; John Mesarites and, 237, 238–9; prepares to capture Nicaea, 270; Robert de Clari on, 278–9, 280–84; and senate, 218; social reorganization of, 177, 210; support and populist policy of, 156, 215, 217, 259; wife and mistress of, 281
Andronicus II Palaeologus, Emperor (1282–1328): Nicephorus Gregoras on, 266, 271
Andronicus III Palaeologus, Emperor (1328–41): Nicephorus Gregoras on 272; on mother of, 266
Andronicus, *see also* Camaterus, Comnenus, Ducas, Palaeologus
Anemas, Manuel, 101, 106
Anemas, tower of, 283
Angelus, Constantine, Gregory Antiochus and, 196, 202, 205, 211, 213, 214

Index

Angelus, *see also* Alexius III Angelus, Alexius IV Angelus, Isaac II Angelus
Anglo-Varangian guard, 244 n.48
Angold, Michael, 14–15
Ani, 34, 82
Anna, wife of Andronicus I, 281
Anna Comnena, *see* Comnena, Anna
Anthia, 82 & n.72
'Antichristophorites' (= Stephen Hagiochristophorites), 148
Antigone, abbot of, 197, 204
Antioch, 52, 209; patriarchs of, 70, 75, 153–4; *see also* Gerald of Antioch
Antiochus, Gregory, **196–223**; and Eustathius, 116, 119, 121, 132, 133, 138, 140, 172; on Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, 129; lemmas to letters of, 132; on market goods, 163 n.111; and Nicholas Cataphloron, 118, 119; rhetoric of, 186; mentioned, 229, 239
Antiochus, Stephen, 198–9, 199–200 n.10
Antony, bishop, 73
Aphrates, 136
Apimpithioum, Constantine, 197, 214 n.45
Arabates the Alan, 70
Arabs, 14, 19, 40, 51, 69, 70
Arbatenus, John, 106
Aristenus, Alexius, *orphanotrophos*, 95, 96
Aristotle, 25
Armenia, 69, 84, 127
Artze, 82
Asen, John, 271
Asia, exarch of, 238
astrology, 181, 173
Athens: crusaders in, 257; Eustathius on Classical, 161; Michael Choniates and, 125, 140, 256; Nicholas Hagiotheodorites in, 129
Attaleia, 58, 84
Attaleiates, Michael, **23–86**; background and family, 58, 84; on church, 72–8; on emperors and imperial ideal, 24–43, 85–6, 108; on military, 63–7; 85; on nobility and imperial servants, 23–4, 43–4, 48–63, 84; on senate, 43–8, 57–8, 84; social attitudes of, 23–4, 84; on townspeople, 78–84, 86, 143; on war and army, 67–73
Attaleiates, Nicholas, 58
Ausinalius, 67
'Ausonians', 37
Autorianus, Michael, *see* Michael IV Autorianus

Balianites, Leo, 208, 209
balliu, 278, 279
Balsamon, Theodore: on Alexius Aristenus, 96; on Andronicus Camaterus, 204 n.20; on astrology, 181
Barbarossa, Frederick, 14
Barlaam, 268
Barys: Prodromus' defence against, 98–9
Basil II, Emperor (976–1025): Psellus on, 42; Scylitzes on, 61, 73; Zonaras on, 60, 61–2
Basil I Scamandrenus Patriarch of Constantinople (970–4), 73
Basil II Camaterus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1183–6): career, 204, 207–11, 214, 219; Gregory Antiochus' address to, 197–8, 204; Pediadites' speech to, 219; others of same name, 209 n.31
Basil ὁ Ἁγιοπάντων, 230
Basil of Caesarea, 61
Basil the Younger, *Vita* of, 12, 21–2
Basil, archbishop of Thessalonica, 129
Basil Monachus, 66
Basil, *see also* Maleses, Pediadites, Theodorocanus
Basilacae, 67
Basilaces, Nicephorus, 65, 70
Βασιλικὸς λόγος, 25
Baynes, N. H., 4
Beck, Hans Georg, 11–22
Belissariotae, 257
Berroea, 199
Blachernae, 45, 273, 282
Boril, 47, 52, 53
Botaneiates, *see* Nicephorus III Botaneiates
Botaneiates, Michael, 68, 70, 81
Brakhamius, Philaretus, 66
Branas, Alexius: army of, 109; Nicetas Choniates on, 258, 261, 269, 275
Bréhier, Louis, 4
Breyennii, 56, 66, 67
Bryennius, John, 56, 65
Bryennius, Nicephorus, claimant to throne: Alexius Comnenus' battle with, 70; Attaleiates on, 40, 45, 65; Continuator of Scylitzes on, 65; as dux of West under Romanus IV, 72; historian Bryennius on magnanimity of, 30; incites dissatisfaction with Michael VII, 79; Nicephoritzes' admiration for, 56; sons of, 94, 97, 106
Bryennius, historian, grandson of the above: on Aemilianus, Patriarch of Antioch, 75–6; on Attaleiates' notion

of generosity, 43; on Constantine X, 35; on the Ducae, 35; introduction to history of, 83, 249; on Michael VII, 38, 47; on military aristocracy and senate, 47; on military families, 66; on military tactics, 70–71, 85; on Nicephoritzes, 56–7; on Nicephorus III Botaneiates, 28, 30, 31, 47, 83; on Romanus IV Diogenes, 36, 71, 72
Bulgaria, Bulgarians, Bulgars: Eustathius Daphnomelus captures strongholds of, 69; Gregory Antiochus and, 132, 219–20, 207 n.25; Irene, *sebastocratorissa*, in, 102; Isaac II's campaign against, 130, 275; Michael IV's victory over, 32; Michael Botaneiates defeats, 70; Pseudo-Prodromus in, 102, 103; *voevoda* Demetrius, 70

Cabasilas, Alexander, 66
Caesarea, 82
Callicles, Nicholas, 106
Callistus, Nicephorus, 25
Calomodius, 270
Camaterus, Andronicus, *sebastos*, *megas drungarios*: career of, 203–4, 204 n.20, 214; Gregory Antiochus and, 197, 201, 203, 205, 207 n.24; Prodromus' epigram for, 93; father of John Ducas, 120, 139
Camaterus, Basil, *see* Basil II Camaterus
Camaterus, Gregory: Prodromus' monody to, 97; wife of, 97; in works of Nicholas Callicles, 106
Camaterus, John, astrologer, 173, 181
Camaterus, John, *see* John X Camaterus
Cambridge Medieval History, 4, 5–7, 16, 18, 21
Camytzes, Constantine, 101 & n.71
Camytzes, Manuel, 264
Cantacuzenus, John, *see* John VI Cantacuzenus
Cantacuzenus, Matthew (son of John), 266, 272
Cappadocia, 84
Carantenus, Nicephorus, 70
Castamon, 98
Castamonites, John: on Basil Camaterus, 208 n. 27
Castamonites, Theodore, 198 n.8, 261
Cataphloron, Nicholas: career, 117–19, 200, 206, 218; Gregory Antiochus and, 197, 200–1, 206, 214, 218
Cecaumenus: on barbarians under patronage of Constantine VIII, 60; compared with Psellus and Zonaras, 59–61; on fiscalism, 59; on friendship, 172–6; grandfather of, 69–70; on imperial ideal, 27, 30, 39, 42, 57, 62, 68, 72; on loyalty, 232; on Michael VII, 59; on Nicephoritzes, 56–7; on nobility of birth, 59; on professions, 142–3; on relatives of Michael IV, 60; respects John Xiphilinus, 74 & n.69; on senators, 44, 48; on strategy, 72; supports army, 61; suspicious of secular learning, 76; tales of guile in, 69–70
Cecaumenus, Catacalon: appointed *curopalates*, 66; hero of Scylitzes, 66; praised by Michael IV, 60, 66; in revolt of Isaac Comnenus, 66; victories over Arabs and Turks, 69
Centenarium tower, 281
Cerularius, Michael, *see* Michael I Cerularius
Chalcedon, Council of, 62
Chamadracon, 182
charistikia, 153–4
Chariton Eugeniotes, Patriarch of Constantinople (1178–9), 229
Chele, 283
Choerosphactes, Eustratius, 48, 50
Choerosphactes, family, 53
Chomatianus, Demetrius, 120, 121, 123
Chonae, 82, 256
Choniates, Michael: career, 256–7; and Demetrius Tornices, 212, 213; and Eustathius, 115, 122, 124–5, 128–9, 133, 134, 140, 150, 193; flees crusaders, 257; on Isaac II, 212; on labour, 162; literary innovations of, 191, 254
Choniates, Nicetas, vii-viii, **256–86**; aesthetic innovations of, 191, 254; on Andronicus I, 210; on Basil Camaterus, 207 n.26, 211; on civil bureaucracy, 148; on the emperor, 160–61; on Eustathius, 124, 158; on fate and necessity, 180–82; on intrigues against kings, 232; on John Camaterus, 238; on John Comnenus' failed coup, 224, 245, 246, 247; on Manuel I, 144–6; on social gradation, 142 n.77, 143; use of term φιλία, 109
Chora monastery, 265
Christus, use of name, 100
Chrysoberges, Luke, *see* Luke Chrysoberges

Chrysoberges, Nicephorus, viii, **225–36**; career, 224–5, 238–42; rhetorical style, 242–55
Chrysoberges, Nicephorus, *patriarchikos notarios*, 226
Chrysoberges, name, 227 n.9
Chrysostom, John, 15
Chrysus, 262
Cilicia, 84, 93
Cinnamus, John: on fate and necessity, 180–81, 182–3, 271, 273; idealization of emperor, 110–11; on Manuel I, 146, 182; on slavery, 167 n.117
Clari, Robert de: on fall of Andronicus, 278–86
classical culture, 2, 6, 8–9, 11, 18–19; Attaleiates and, 76–7; Chrysoberges and, 232; influence on imperial ideal, 24–5; Eustathius and, 132–3, 194; Prodromus and, 107 n.98, 110; ship imagery, 263; *see also* Aristotle, Homer, Pindar, Plato
Claudiopolis, Manuel's victory at, 130
Clement of Alexandria, 111
Colybas, Sergius, 131
Comnena, Anna: described by Gregory Tornices, 138 n.68; on fate and necessity, 181 & n.135; grandson of, 138; Prodromus' poem to, 97, 112; sons of, 97
Comnena, Maria, daughter of Alexius I, wife of Nicephorus Phorbenus, 93–4
Comnena, Maria, daughter of Manuel I, 102–3
Comnena, Theodora, wife of John Contostephanus, 102
Comnena, Theodora, niece of Manuel I, wife of king of Jerusalem, 260–1
Comneni: Attaleiates on military leaders amongst, 64, 66, 67; Bryennius on, 66; Chrysoberges on, 244 n.50; Eustathius on, 144, 156, 194; Gregory Antiochus related to (?), 198–9; imperial dynasty and age of, 14, 86, 105, 108, 154, 206, 234; Prodromus on, 108, 110–11; and senate, 218; *see also* Alexius I Comnenus, Alexius II Comnenus, Andronicus I Comnenus, Isaac I Comnenus, John II Comnenus, Manuel I Comnenus
Comnenus, Alexius, brother of *curopalates* Manuel, 64
Comnenus, Alexius, *protosebastos*: Gregory Antiochus and, 197, 207, 219, 221; Choniates on, 262
Comnenus, Alexius, renegade, 137
Comnenus, Alexius, son of Andronicus *sebastocrator*: Prodromus' poem on, 107, 108, 111
Comnenus, Andronicus, *sebastocrator*, brother of Manuel I: Prodromus' poem to, 97, 102, 106–7; son of, 107
Comnenus, Constantine, third son of *sebastocrator* Isaac, 198–9
Comnenus, David, governor of Thessalonica, 136, 147–8, 188, 191
Comnenus, Isaac, brother of *curopalates* Manuel, 64
Comnenus, Isaac, *sebastocrator*, brother of Alexius I, 198–9
Comnenus, Isaac, *sebastos*, 198–9
Comnenus, Isaac, son of Alexius I, 110, 116 n.2
Comnenus, John the Fat: failed coup of, 224, 225, 227, 231, 232, 237, 238, 242–8 *passim*, 250, 251, 253, 254 ('the corpulent Persian')
Comnenus, John, nephew of Manuel I, 258
Comnenus, John, son of Nicephorus Comnenus, 133
Comnenus, Manuel, *curopalates*, 64
Comnenus, Nicephorus: Eustathius and, 133, 138–9, 144, 149, 189; as master of petitions, 120; brother of, 138–9, 169
Conrad of Montferrat, 261, 262, 275
Constantine the Great, 27 n.13, 31–2
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Emperor (913–59), *De Cerimoniis*, 2 n.2, 15
Constaine VIII, Emperor (1025–8): Psellus on, 42; Zonaras on, 60
Constantine IX, Emperor (1042–55): Attaleiates on, 32–3, 76; Cecaumenus on, 57; Proteuon as potential successor of, 50; Psellus on, 42–3; Scylitzes on, 73; soldiers of, 40
Constantine X Ducas, Emperor (1059–67): addresses senate and people, 46; Attaleiates on, 30, 34–5, 77; plot against, 79, 80; Psellus on, 24 n.7, 68; rewards senate and people, 45; speech to city corporations, 79; widow of, 76; Zonaras on, 60
Constantine III Leichoudes, Patriarch of Constantinople (1059–63), 54, 74–6
Constantine, metropolitan of Nicomedia, 94–5, 94 n.35
Constantine, *see also* Angelus, Apimpithioum, Camytzes, Comnenus, Ducas, Gabras, Manasses, Mesarites,

Mesopotamites, Rhodius, Psellus, Stilbes, Tornices
Constantinopole, 78–86 *passim*, 125–34 *passim*; Attaleiates and, 58; capture of, 15, 261, 274; Choniates in, 256; Eustathius and, 117, 118, 155, 163; famine in, 37, 275; fires in, 65; Gregory Antiochus and, 198, 200; nobility of, 57, 58, 62, 240; plebs of, 155, 280; population of, 143; Prodromus in, 101, 105; rebels of, 245; reveres Botaneiates, 29, 30; and sea, 263; water shortage in, 122, 157; mentioned, 3, 5, 8, 54, 92, 94, 113, 147, 230, 232, 236, 237, 240, 242, 252, 262, 269, 278, 280, 281, 283
Continuator of Scylitzes, *see* Scylitzes, Continuator of
Contostephanus, Alexius, 93, 106
Contostephanus, John, 102
Contostephanus, Stephen, 101, 106
Corcyra, 229, 230, 270
Cos, 138
Cosmas, *Awesome and Edifying Vision*, 21; canon of, 94, 103 n.82
Cosmas I, Patriarch of Constantinople (1075–81), 46, 75, 76
Crete: defeat of Arabs in, 70; dux of, 53; slave terminology in, 165
Crispin, 67
crusaders, 257
custodian of the inkstand, 212–13

Daphnomelus, Eustathius, 69
David, grand hetaireiarch, 52
Demetrias, 226, 230, 231
Demetrius, Bulgarian *voevoda*, 70
Demetrius, *see also* Chomatianus, Tornices
demos, *see* plebs
Diabatenus, Leo, 66
Dionysius Periegetes, 120–1, 132, 139
Doceianus, Michael, 64, 106
Doge, 161, 236
Dölger, Franz, 18, 196
Dorylaeum, 127, 128
Ducae; Attaleiates on, 66, 67; Bryennius on lineage of, 35, 66; military activity of, 64–5; Zonaras and Psellus on antiquity of, 60; *see also* Constantine X Ducas, Michael VII Ducas, Nicephorus III Botaneiates, Romanus IV Diogenes
Ducas, Andronicus, son of John Ducas, Caesar, 64, 71
Ducas, Constantius, brother of Michael VII: revolt of, 41, 45, 64–5, 83
Ducas, Constantine, son of John Ducas, Caesar, 64, 65
Ducas, John, Caesar: advises Romanus IV, 65, 71; Attaleiates on military activity of, 64; Continuator of Scylitzes on, 65; expedition against Roussel, 28; makes Basil Maleses close associate, 50; Maleses persuades Michael VII to ransom, 50; Nicephoritzes and, 56; pays respects to senate on accession of Michael VII, 46; returns from captivity, 37; sons of, 64, 65, 71
Ducas, John, grand hetaireiarch, son of Andronicus Camaterus, 120, 121, 134, 139, 146–7, 169, 191, 212 n.38
Ducas, John, son of Anna Comnena, 138
Ducas, John, uncle of Isaac Angelus, 281
Ducas, Michael, 264
dynatoi, 35, 41, 43, 61
Dyrrhachium, dux of, 65

Ecbatana, 72
Edessa, 69
Empedocles: Prodromus on, 109
Enos region, 164
Ensslin, W., 6–7, 16
Ephesus, 36, 238
Eroticus, Manuel, 69
Escorial, Greek manuscript collection of, 20
Eudocia, wife of Constantine X Ducas and of Romanus IV, 40, 45, 46, 51–2, 76
Eugenianus, Nicetas, 87, 90 n.12, 91, 92, 101, 104, 114
Eugeniotes, Chariton, *see* Chariton Eugeniotes
Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius III Angelus, 238, 243
Eusebius of Caesarea, 178
Eustathius of Thessalonica, viii, **115–95**; aesthetic views, 183–95; on Basil Camaterus, 207 n.26, 210; compared with Chrysoberges on war, 233; compared with Mesarites, 239–41, 254–5; on colour, 262, 258 n.3; ethical principles, 167–77; on financial and social reorganization of Andronicus I, 210; on history, 178–83; life and career, 115–40, 194; obituary to Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, 200; social views, 140–67, 195; teacher and correspondent of Gregory Antiochus, 201, 202, 205–6, 214, 215, 219, 222
Euthymius, name, 193

Euthymius, *see also* Malaces, Tornices, Zigebenus

Forty Martyrs, church of, 260

Gabras, envoy of Kilij-Arslan II, 262
Gabras, Constantine, revolt of, 95
Galenus, Theodore (Theodosius), metropolitan of Sardis, 227 n.9
Ganges: Attaleiates on, 77
Genoa, embassy to, 227
George, *see* Maniaces, Oinaiotes, Pachymeres, Syncellus, Tornices
Gerald of Antioch, 258
Germans, 264
Germanus, 47, 52, 53
gerousia, 45, 46
Glycas, Michael, on fate, 181
Great Palace, 238, 248, 250, 251, 260, 264, 281
Gregoras, Nicephorus: compared with Nicetas Choniates, 263–77
Gregory IV, *katholikos* of Armenia, 127
Gregory, abbot, 101
Gregory the Theologian, 216 n.47
Gregory, *see also* Antiochus, Camaterus, Palamas, Tornices
Guillou, André, 4–10, 11, 13, 18, 21

Hagarenes, 147
Hagiochristophorites, Stephen ('Antichristophorites'), 148, 279
Hagiotheodorites, Michael: Eustathius to, 123, 129, 139; Gregory Antiochus' homily of consolation to, 129, 197, 219; and senate, 218
Hagiotheodorites, Nicholas: as bishop, 201; in Eustathius' circle, 140; Eustathius on death of, 129, 140, 186, 187; and Gregory Antiochus, 129, 200, 205, 206; *hypertimos*, 123, 129, 130, 206; *maistor ton rhetoron*, 200–201; praised by Eustathius for action against injustice, 149; Pseudo-Euthymius Tornices on death of, 129
Haplucheir, Michael, 110 n.109
Hebdomus, monastery, 51
Hendy, Michael, 14–15 & n.13
Heraclitus, 158
hermits: Eustathius on, 151–2 & 152 n.91
Hesiod, 77
Hierapolis, 40, 82
Hippodrome, 248, 250
Holy Apostles, church of, 101, 103, 236, 240–41, 253–4, 259
Homer: Attaleiates' use of, 77; Choniates' use of style of, 260–61, 267; Eustathius' commentary on, 132, 152–3, 155, 158, 163, 173, 182, 189, 190, 191, 194, 258 n.3; slave terminology of, 164–5
Hörandner, Wolfram, 88
Hungarians, *see* Sauromatians
Hungary, king of, 66; brother of, 269

Iconium, 75, 82, 92
imperial ideal, 24–31; Attaleiates on, 24, 27–43, 63; Cecaumenus on, 27; Chrysoberges on, 231–2; Eustathius on, 157–61; in Prodromus' poems, 104–5, 108, 110–11; Zonaras and, 26, 59, 60
Innocent III, pope, 234
Ioannicius, 95
Irene Ducaena, empress, 93, 97, 98, 100, 102, 249
Irene, daughter of Isaac II Angelus, 131
Irene, *sebastocratorissa*, 102–3, 107, 111, 113
Isaac I Comnenus, Emperor (1057–9): Attaleiates' treatment of, 33–4, 41, 50, 76–80; Bryennius on, 70; Continuator of Scylitzes on, 33–4, 60; Psellus on, 42, 54, 60, 68; Scylitzes on revolt of, 66
Isaac II Angelus, Emperor (1185–95, 1203–4): compaign against Bulgarians, 130–31, 275; deposed and blinded, 273, 275; Eustathius and, 134–5, 156; forces Basil Camaterus from power, 211; Gregory Antiochus and, 196, 211, 214, 215; and Mesarites family, 239; Michael Choniates on, 212, 257, 260, 261, 264, 273, 278–84 *passim*; officials of, 139; rise to power, 278–84; speeches of Chrysoberges from reign of, 227; Gregory Tornices on, 131
Ishmaelites, 126
Istrus, battle of, 147
Italicus, Michael, 88, 95, n.36, 101 & n.66, 104, 114
Italy, Italians, 109, 125, 208, 236, 248; *see also* Latins

Jerusalem, 260; *see also* Nicephorus II, Patriarch of
John II Comnenus, Emperor (1118–43): Alexius Aristenus as *nomophylax* under, 96; campaign against Castamon, 97–8 & 98 n.56; death of, 98, 100; greeted by Abasgian envoys on accession, 94; military deeds of,

106; opposed by Anna Comnena and *sebastocrator* Andronicus, 97; Prodromus and, 90, 94, 95, 97–8, 100, 102, 103, 108; soldiers of, 105
John VI Cantacuzenus, Emperor (1347–54), 258, 266, 272, 275
John VIII Xiphilinus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1064–75), 46–7, 74–6, 85
John X Camaterus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1198–1206): Chrysoberges and, 226–8, 231, 233–5, 238, 252; learning of, 235, 238; Mesarites on, 238
John V Oxeites, Patriarch of Antioch, 153–4
John II, metropolitan of Kiev, 98–100
John, archbishop of Thessalonica, 133
John, *protovestarios*, 262
John of Damascus, 15, 94, 103 n.82, 121, 123, 161
John of Side, 49, 57
John *see also* Arbatenus, Asen, Bryennius, Camaterus, Castamonites, Chrysostom, Cinnamus, Comnenus, Contostephanus, Ducas, Mesarites, Orphanotrophus, Palaeologus, Placenus, Scylitzes, Spyridonaces, Tzetzes, Zonaras
Jordan, in court rhetoric, 124
Julian, emperor, 244 n.50
Justin II, *Speech of Justin II to Tiberius*, 25–6, 25 n.10, 38, 39, 41, 60, 62
Justinian, triclinium of, 250

Keos, 257
Khachaturius, 67
Kiev, 98–100
Kilij-Arslan II, Sultan of Rūm (1155–92), 92, 264, 267
koinobia, 17, 20
Krause, J. H., 1–3, 5, 6–10, 11
Kyrsac (= Isaac Angelus), 278, 284

Lapardas, 146
Larissa, 71
Lascaris, *see* Theodore I Lascaris
Latins: Attaleiates on, 67; capture Constantinople, 257, 275; Constantinople plebs' vengeance on, 155; Chrysoberges on, 235–6; Eustathius on, 137; Mesarites on, 242; Nicetas Choniates on, 161, 232, 267, 268; mentioned, 19, 167, 189, 235–6; *see also* Italy, Italians
Leichoudes, Constantine, *see* Constantine III Leichoudes
Leo, critic of Eustathius, 136
Leo the Deacon, 77–8, 190
Leo 'master of petitions', 48, 50
Leo, *see also* Balianites, Diabatenus, Monasteriotes, Paraspondylus, Tornices
'Lependrenus affair', 134
Libellisius, Peter, 51
Liparites, 67
Lizix, 95 & n.36, 107
Luke Chrysoberges, Patriarch of Constantinople (1157–70), Antiochus and, 197–8, 206, 214; patriarchate of, 119–22

Macedonia, 69, 84, 199
maistor ton rhetoron, 118 & n.12, 119, 121–7 *passim*, 124 n.30, 131, 132, 138, 200, 228–31
Malaces, Euthymius: and Eustathius, 115, 118, 121, 133, 138, 140, 141–2; Gregory Antiochus' letters to, 197, 201, 204 n.20, 205; metropolitan of Neopatrae, 121
Maleses, family, 53
Maleses, Basil, 41, 48, 50, 85 n.75
Maleses, poet and judge, 85 n.75
Manasses, Constantine, 114, 181, 183
Mangana, monastery, 103
Mango, Cyril, 1, 11–22
Maniaces, George, 63, 69
Manuel I Comnenus: accession of, 116, 182; and astrology, 181; battles and campaigns of, 126, 128, 130, 270; beauty of, 169, 187, 258; and church, 158; daughter of, 102–3; Eustathius and, 40, 116, 122–5 *passim*, 136, 144–6 *passim*, 153–8 *passim*, 169, 177, 180, 191, 194; foreign policy of, 157; and formula for condemnation of Moslems, 136, 158; heir of, 127; meets Kilij-Arslan II, 92; Nicetas Choniates on, 144–6, 148, 158, 181, 258–60 *passim*, 262, 270, 275; Pseudo-Prodromus and, 102–3; rhetoric of, 186; takes title *sebastocrator*, 116; mentioned, 137, 139, 242
Manuel, bishop of Smolensk, 100
Manuel, *see also* Anemas Camytzes, Eroticus
Manzikert, battle of, 36, 45, 48, 49, 50, 65, 70, 72
Maraptice, hetaira of Andronicus I, 281
Maria, wife of Michael VII, then of Nicephorus III, 60
Matthew, *see also* Cantacuzenus

Melanchlaeni, 171
Meletius the Younger, *Vita* of, 101 & n.68
Melitene, judge of, 227 n.9
Menander of Laodicea, 24–5, 39
Mesarites, Constantine, 237
Mesarites, John, 237–41
Mesarites, Nicholas, viii, **236–42**, 259; compared with Chrysoberges, 224–5, 242–55; literary innovations of, 191
Mese, the, 257
Mesopotamites, Constantine: Chrysoberges on, 226, 227, 228, 233, 234, 235, 252; on embassy to Genoa, 227; favourite courtier of Isaac II Angelus, 227; occupies see of Thessalonica, 137, 227
Methone, 128 & n.43
Metochites, Theodore, 266
Michael IV, Emperor (1034–41), 32, 42, 60, 73, 79
Michael V, Emperor (1041–2), 32, 78, 79
Michael VI, Emperor (1056–7), 33, 68, 73
Michael VII Ducas, Emperor (1071–8): Attaleiates and, 24, 30, 36–8, 41, 46, 85; Basil Maleses and, 41, 50; Bryennius on, 38; confiscates property of deserters to Botaneiates, 41; confiscates *scalae*, 81; Continuator of Scylitzes on, 37, 53; and Cosmas, 75; deposed and appointed metropolitan of Ephesus, 36, 56, 75; fails to ease famine, 37, 78; informs senate of Roussel's defeat, 45; and John of Side, 49; neglects raids of Turks, 37; and Nestor's attempted revolt, 41; and Nicephoritzes, 51, 55, 57; Zonaras on, 60; mentioned, 24 n.7, 37, 45, 47, 50, 59, 63, 75, 76, 79, 80; relatives of, 60, 64–5, 83
Michael VIII Palaeologus, Emperor (1259–82), 15
Michael I Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1043–58): Attaleiates on, 71, 76; family of, 49–50, 53; in Constantinopolitan opinion, 85; Scylitzes on, 73
Michael III of Anchialus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1170–8): 'consul of the philosophers', 121; correspondence with Armenians, 127; death of, 127; Eustathius and, 117 n.7, 119–22, 124, 126–7, 133, 145 n.83, 169, 182, 186, 191; as patriarch, 122, 126, 182; in patriarchal chancery and judiciary, 119
Michael IV Autorianus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1208–14), 140, 242 n.46
Michael of Epirus, 275
Michael of Nicomedia, 51–2, 53–5
Michael the Syrian, 277 n.9
Michael, metropolitan of Ancyra, 73
Michael, rhetor, 110 n.112
Michael, *see also* Attaleiates, Botaneiates, Choniates, Doceianus, Ducas, Glycas, Hagiotheodorites, Haplucheir, Italicus, Palaeologus, Psellus
Mohammed, 158
Monasteriotes, Leo, 218
monks, monasticism: Attaleiates on, 76; Beck on, 17–18, 19–20; Eustathius on, 150–3, 154, 156, 162; John Oxeites on, 154; Krause on, 2–3; Nicholas Mesarites on, 239–40
Monomachus, Theodosius, 62
Monothelite dispute, 19
Monotropus, Gabriel, 103 n.82
Monotropus, Philip, 54
Montferrat, *see* Conrad of Montferrat
Morava River, 260
Morosini, Thomas, 242
Mosaic Law, in Eustathius, 178–80
Moslems, 136, 158
Muchrutas, 250
Muntanes, Nicetas, *see* Nicetas II Muntanes
Muzalon, Nicholas, *see* Nicholas IV Muzalon
Myra, 123–4
Myriocephalon, 126, 128, 157, 262, 273, 275

Neakomis, 252
Neopatrae, 121, 197
Nerses, *Katholikos* of Armenia, 127
Nestor, 41
Nicaea, 15, 28, 69, 80, 237, 238, 242, 252, 257, 265, 270
Nicephoritzes, logothete: associates of, 51–3, 55; Attaleiates on deeds of, 40, 51–3, 55–7; Bryennius on, 56–7; Cecaumenus on, 56–7; Continuator of Scylitzes on, 51, 56; establishes state monopoly of grain, 55; Michael of Nicomedia and, 51–2, 55; opposed by metropolitan of Iconium, 75; Psellus and, 55; sent to Antioch, 52; slanders Eudocia, 51–2
Nicephorus II Phocas, Emperor (963–9), 32, 39, 70
Nicephorus III Botaneiates, Emperor

(1078–81): Attaleiates and, 23, 24, 27–32, 34, 38, 41, 45–50 *passim*, 52, 53, 56, 63–8 *passim*, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85–6; Bryennius on support for, 83; marriage to Maria, 60, 76; townspeople and, 81; Zonaras and, 60, 62
Nicephorus II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 96
Nicephorus, *see also* Basilaces, Bryennius, Callistus, Carantenus, Chrysoberges, Comnenus, Gregoras, Palaeologus, Phorbenus
Nicetas II Muntanes, Patriarch of Constantinople (1186–9): Chrysoberges and, 226–9, 231, 234–5, 238, 241; Pediadites' speech to, 229
Nicetas of Ancyra, 159, 160
Nicetas of Maronea, archbishop of Thessalonica, 166–7
Nicetas of Serres, 159 n.104
Nicetas, *see also* Choniates, Eugenianus
Nicholas IV Muzalon, Patriarch of Constantinople (1147–51), 119 n.15
Nicholas of Myra, 73, 124
Nicholas of Otranto, 242
Nicholas, bishop of Methone, 101 n.68, 128 & n.43
'Nicholas' = Theodore Prodromus, 101
Nicholas, *see also* Attaleiates, Callicles, Cataphloron, Hagiotheodorites, Mesarites
Nicomedia, 52, 75, 94
Normans: seige and capture of Thessalonica, 117, 130, 135, 136–7, 147–8, 189, 270; mentioned, 106, 264, 267

Oinaiotes, George, 250
Orphanotrophus, John, 73
Ostrogorsky, George, 1, 12–13, 23 & n.2
Oxeia, Island of, 101
Oxeites, John *see* John V Oxeites

Pachymeres, George, 276
Palace, Great, *see* Great Palace
Palaeologi, 14; *see also* Andronicus I Palaeologus, Andronicus II Palaeologus, Michael VIII Palaeologus
Palaeologus, Alexius, 244, 248, 250
Palaeologus, Andronicus, 106
Palaeologus, John, 276
Palaeologus, Michael, 92 n.20, 93
Palaeologus, Nicephorus, 71
Palamas, Gregory, 272
Palestine, 208, 261
Panaretus, 76
Pantocrator, 254; monastery of, 149
Papadimitriu, S., 88–9, 90 n.12 & n.14
Paraspondylus, Leo, 49
Patrae, 128
Paul, *proedros*, 65
Pechenegs, 28, 54, 65
Pediadites, Basil, 229, 230
Pelagius, cardinal, 237, 238, 242
Peloponnese, 149
people, *see* plebs
Peribleptos monastery, 279
periodization of Byzantine history, 8–9, 14
Peter, author of obituary of Prodromus, 101, 114
Peter, stratopedarch, 69
Philadelphia, 92 n.20
Philippopolis, 101, 114, 134–5, 257
Philotheus of Opsicium: Eustathius on, 151–2, 162
Phocae, 27
Phocas, *see* Nicephorus II Phocas, Nicephorus III Botaneiates
Phorbenus, Alexius, 93, 97, 98
Phorbenus, Nicephorus, 93–4
Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (858–67, 877–86), 15, 142–3
Pindar, 119, 132, 194
Placenus, John, deacon, 124
Plato, 25, 208
plebs, rabble, urban crowd: Attaleiates, Continuator of Scylitzes etc. on, 78–81, 83–4; Choniates on, 280; Eustathius on, 155, 156; Psellus on, 143
Polyeuctus, Patriarch of Constantinople (956–70), 73
Pontus, 231
Prodromus, name, 99
Prodromus, father of Theodore, 88–9
Prodromus, Christus (?), 99–100
Prodromus, 'Hilarion', 90
'Prodromus, Manganeius', 90 n.12
Prodromus, Manuel (?), 100
Prodromus, Pseudo-, 40, 102–4, 198–9, 258
Prodromus, Theodore, **87–114**, 160, 178, 191, 192, 233; *see also* 'Ptochoprodromica', 'Ptochoprodromus'
pronoia, 16, 51, 145
Prosek, 273
Proteuon, 50; family of, 53
Psellus, Michael (Constantine), Alexius Comnenus and, 54–5; Attaleiates and

Psellus, Michael – cont.
Continuator of Scylitzes on, 55; on Basil II, 42; career of, 54–5, 58, 58–9; classical culture of, 19, 74; on clergy, 74; completes *Chronographia*, 38; on Constantine VIII, 42; on Constantine IX, 42–3; on Constantine X, 24 n.7, 35, 68; sometimes identified with Michael of Nicomedia, 53–5; on Isaac I, 54, 60; on Leo Paraspondylus, 49; literary style of, 76, 86, 112, 114, 190; on Michael IV, 42; and Michael VII, 37–8, 24 n.7, 53, 65, 71; and Nicephoritzes, 55; and Romanus III, 42; and Romanus IV, 36, 54, 65, 71, 72; and senatorial order, 44; on war and army, 68; and Zonaras, 59, 62–3; mentioned, 76, 85, 85 n.75, 86, 94
'Ptochoprodromica', 'Ptochoprodromus', 90, 104
Pylae, 252

Qilij Arslan, *see* Kilij-Arslan II

Ragusa, 69
Reynard and Isingrim, 86
Rhaedestus, 55, 58, 81–2
rhetoric, Byzantine, 242–55; works of, 25
Rhodius, Constantine, 253, 254
Roger, *sebastos*, 106
Roger, son of Tancred, 131
Romans, ancient, 40
Romanus III, Emperor (1028–34), 42, 73
Romanus IV Diogenes, Emperor (1068–71): advisors of, 53, 65, 68, 71; and Andronicus Ducas, 64; appoints Manuel *curopalates*, 64; army of, 40; Attaleiates and, 24, 28, 35–6, 44, 71, 72; Bryennius and, 72; Continuator of Scylitzes on, 71–2; deserted by *proedros* Paul, 65; and Eudocia, 76; and *gerousia*, 46; overthrown, 65, 67, 71; Psellus on, 64, 68, 72; receives Turkish defector, 44–5; and senate, 44; stepsons of, 65; Zonaras on, 60
Romanus, *see* Straboromanus
Rome: Basil Camaterus' embassy to, 208
Roussel of Bailleul: Attaleiates on, 50, 64, 67, 78; defeated by Turks, 45, 50; defeats John Ducas, 64; John Ducas' expedition against, 28; and Maleses, 41, 50; and Michael VII, 37, 50
Runciman, Sir Steven, 3–4, 18, 21–2
Russians, 32, 69

St Basil, tomb of, 82
St Euthymius, monastery, 118
St Florus, monastery, 117 n.7, 125
St George, Mangana monastery of, 103
St Nicholas, church, Thessalonica, 129 n.45
St Sophia, 45, 52, 75, 79, 120, 123, 235, 238, 250, 257, 279, 280–1
Salonica, *see* Thessalonica
Sangarius River, 28
Sardis, 230–1
Sauromatians, 28
scalae, 80, 81
Scamandrenus, Basil, *see* Basil I Scamandrenus
Sclerus, Bardas, 69
Scylitzes, John: on Basil II, 61; on Catacalon Cecaumenus, 66; on clergy and church, 73–4; on Constantine IX, 73; on Michael Cerularius, 73; on Michael IV, 73; and senate, 44; as source for Zonaras, 59, 60, 61; tales of guile in, 69, 70
Scylitzes, Continuator of: on army, 68; on Botaneiates, 28, 30, 31, 46–7, 52, 68; on civil nobility, 49–53; compared with Attaleiates, 40, 41, 43–82 *passim*; on Constantine X, 34–5, 45, 79, 80; on Constantinople, 82–3; on Cosmas, patriarch, 75, 76; on Ducae, 65; identity of, 33 n.17; on Isaac I Comnenus, 33–4, 44 n.29, 60; on John of Side, 49; on John Xiphilinus, 74–5; on Manuel Comnenus, 68; on Michael VII, 37, 45, 46, 47, 53, 63, 75, 79, 80; on Michael Cerularius, 74; on military aristocracy, 66–73 *passim*; on Nicephoritzes, 51, 56; on Nicephorus Bryennius, 65; on people and towns, 78–82; on population and society, 143; on private property and *dynatoi*, 41; on Psellus, 53, 55; on religious institutions and personalities, 76; on Romanus IV, 36, 44–5, 46, 53, 65, 71, 72; on Roussel, 67, 78; on secular learning, 76–7; on senate, 46, 47; as source for Zonaras, 59, 60, 63
Scylitzes, Stephen, 95, 98 & n.59, 101 & n.68, 113–14
Seljuks, 40, 126
Selymbria, 40, 257
senate, senators: Attaleiates on, 23–4, 43–8, 57–8, 84; and Botaneiates, 52, 83; and Bryennius, 47; Cecaumenus on, 48; Comneni and, 218; Constantine X and, 80; Gregory

Antiochus on, 218; Michael VII and, 80; Psellus on, 143; Zonaras on, 62, 84, 218
Serbs, 260
Serdica, 220
Sergius II, Patriarch of Constantinople (1001–19), 61
Servliae, 53
Simocatta, Theophylact, 25–7, 39
Siphantus, 137, 142
Sisinnius II, Patriarch of Constantinople (996–8), 73
Slavs, South, 226
Soterichus, 198
Source, monastery of the, 198
Spaniards, 248
Sphorakion district, 257
Spyridonaces, John, 233
Stephen Urosh IV Dushan, King of Serbia (1331–55), 270
Stephen Vojislav, prince of Zeta, 69
Stephen, *synkellos*, 73
Stephen the Sabaite, 15
Stephen, brother of king of Hungary, 269
Stephen, *see also* Antiochus Contostephanus, Ducas, Hagiochristophorites, Scylitzes
Stilbes, Constantine, 169, 229
Straboromani, 53
Straboromanus, grand hetaireiarch, 50, 52, 53, 56
Stypeiotes, Theodore, 267
Symeon the Fool, 12
Symeon the Theologian, 149, 154, 160, 162, 170 n.120, 172–3, 190, 235, 240, 241
Synadenus, Theodoulus, daughter of, 66
Syncellus, George, 249
Syria, 84

Tancred, 131
Taronites, Gregory, 95
'Tauroscythians', 283
Taurus region, 82
Thebes (Boeotia), 212
Theodora, empress (1042, 1055–6), 33, 80
Theodora, *see* Comnena
Theodore, name, 193
Theodore I Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea (1204–22), 257
Theodore, monk, 73
Theodore, son of Attaleiates, 58
Theodore of Smyrna, 94
Theodore the Studite, 15, 16
Theodore, *see also* Alyates, Balsamon, Castamonites, Galenus, Metochites, Prodromus, Stypeiotes
Theodorocanus, Basil, 63–4
Theodosioupolis, 49
Theodosius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1179–83), 259
Theophanes, chronicler, 25–7, 31–2, 39, 249
Theophanes, metropolitan of Thessalonica, 73
Theophylact of Ohrid, 39, 58, 108, 198, 199
Theophylact Simocatta, *see* Simocatta
Theotokites, Leontius, 212
'Thessalia' = Thessalonica, 129
Thessalonica: Eustathius' connections with, 117–37 *passim*, 140, 143, 168, 170, 177; Eustathius on capture of, by Normans, 133, 135, 136–7, 147, 182, 188–90, 192
Tornices, Constantine, son of Demetrius, 212
Tornices, Demetrius, 199, 212–13, 214
Tornices, Euthymius, 128, 212 n.36, 224, 246–7, 250 & n.61, 251
Tornices, Pseudo-Euthymius, 129, 200
Tornices, George, 138 n.68, 228
Tornices, Gregory, 131
Tornices, Leo, 40, 62, 63
towns, provincial, 81–6
Toynbee, A., 8–9
Trachaniotae, 66, 67
Trachaniotes, Joseph, 65, 72
Trebizond, 95, 101 n.68
Turks: aided by Constantius Ducas, 64–5; Arabates the Alan and, 70; Attaleiates on guile of, 70; Botaneiates aided by Philaretus against, 66; Catacalon Cecaumenus' victories over, 69; Constantine IX and onslaught of, 32; defeated by Isaac Comnenus, 64; Michael VII neglects raids of, 37; occupation of Asia Minor, 14; persuaded to hand over Roussel, 70; plunder churches of Caesarea, and tomb of St Basil, 82; Romanus IV and, 36, 70, 71, 72; Roussel's defeat by, 45, 50; senate confers concerning threat of, 46, 106–7
Tzetzes, John, 110, 181, 202 n.16

Uzes, 28, 35, 46

Varangians, 28
Vatatzes, 63

Venice, Venetians, 161, 267
Virgin of Pharos, church of, 238, 248
vita, genre, 190–91
vita contemplativa, 19
voevoda, 70

Wessel, K., 5, 8
wonders of the world, Eustathius on, 183

Xiphilinus, Bardas, 46, 75
Xiphilinus, John, *see* John VIII Xiphilinus

Zigabenus, Euthymius 161
Zonarae, 53
Zonaras, John, viii, 59–63; contrasted with Psellus, 35, 36, 60, 62–3; on army, 61, on government, 61, 84, 218; on imperial ideal, 59–60; on John of Side, 49; on marriage of sons of Nicephorus Bryennius, 94; on military aristocracy, 60; paraphrase of *Speech of Justin II*, 25–6, 60–61, 62; reason for writing and sources, 59, 24; mentioned, 83–4

Past and Present Publications

General Editor: T. H. ASTON, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*

Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200–1800, edited by Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and E. P. Thompson*
French Society and the Revolution, edited by Douglas Johnson
Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History, edited by R. H. Hilton*
Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology, edited by Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley*
Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages, Charles Phythian-Adams
Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts, Margot Heinemann*
Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680–1540, Christopher Dyer
Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270–1400, Zvi Razi
Biology, Medicine and Society 1840–1940, edited by Charles Webster
The Invention of Tradition, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger
Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry and the Genesis of Capitalism, Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick and Jürgen Schlumbohm*†
The Republic in the Village: The People of the Var from the French Revolution to the Second Republic, Maurice Agulhon†
Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton, edited by T. H. Aston, P. R. Coss, Christopher Dyer and Joan Thirsk
A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century, R. H. Hilton
Winstanley: 'The Law of Freedom' and Other Writings, edited by Christopher Hill
Crime in Seventeenth-Century England: A County Study, J. A. Sharpe†
The Crisis of Feudalism: Economy and Society in Eastern Normandy c. 1300–1550, Guy Bois†
The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe, Jack Goody
Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West, edited by John Bossy
Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England, edited by Paul Slack
Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, Alexander Kazhdan in collaboration with Simon Franklin†

*Also issued as a paperback
† Co-published with the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris